### DOCUMENT RESUME

RD 096 092

RC 008 141

TITLE OIO [Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity, Inc.] Indian

Youth Council Manual.

INSTITUTION Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity, Inc., Norman,

Okla.

SPONS AGENCY Ford Foundation, New York, N.Y.

PUB DATE 31 Jan 72 NOTF 119p.

EDFS PPICE MF-\$0.75 HC-\$5.40 PLUS POSTAGE

DESCRIPTORS Adult Leaders; \*American Indians; Bibliographies;

Cultural Background; Discussion Groups; \*Educational

Opportunities; Folk Drama; History; \*Manuals;

\*Organizations (Groups); Treaties; Tribes; \*Youth

Programs

IDENTIFIERS OIO Youth Councils; \*Oklahomans for Indian

Opportunity Youth Councils

### ABSTRACT

The Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity (OIO) Youth Council Manual is divided into 5 parts. The first gives some basic information about the 010 Youth Councils, covering what a Youth Council is, who can join, the organization of the Councils, who runs them and how they work, the sponsor's role, recognition by local schools, initiating new Councils, and OTO Youth Educational Opportunity Programs. The second section gives historic highlights of Oklahoma Indian Tribes and discussion materials (no attempt was made to make this comprehensive). The land, removal and movement of Tribes into the State, broken treaties, the struggle to worship, and Tecumseh - the story of a leader, are discussed. Part 3 presents 15 discussion texts, which begin with statements from noted Indian leaders (ranging from Pontiac, Geronimo, and Wovoka to Kicking Bird and Vine Deloria, Jr.) followed by questions for further research. These cover education, white paternalism, heritage, the right to be different, war and peace, the land, historical truth, religion, the spirit of unity, self determination, termination, ecology, and survival. Part 4 presents 3 playlets: "If I Grow Up To Be Like You. I Deserve It": "All Chinese Look Alike To Me"; and "Another Man Is My Mirror". Part 5 is a balanced, though not complete, bibliography of Indian materials, citing approximately 240 references published between 1858 and the present. (KM)

#### U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTM. EDUCATION & WELFARE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDL CATION

these properties and the metallic properties and the metal



# O I O INDIAN YOUTH COUNCIL MANUAL

### Published by:

Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity, Inc. 555 Constitution Avenue Norman, Oklahoma 73069 (405) 329-3737

January 31, 1972

Print ST CO O C CRIC

### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

Special thanks is due to the many OIO Youth Council members, parents, sponsors and youth staff who participated in the planning and development of this manual; and to Morgan Otis, Jaynie Bullock Russell Bates, and Perry Horse, for their special contributions to the writing of this manual and the graphics contained in it; and finally to the Ford Foundation, whose support made possible the planning, development and printing of this program—and more importantly—the creation of a continuing process of Indian Studies Development.



### A NOTE ON USING THIS MANUAL

This material is divided into five parts. The first is some basic information about OIO Youth Councils. The second contains some historic highlights about Indian Tribes of Oklahoma and some discussion material. No attempt was made to make this section even remotely comprehensive. To undertake such an effort still require the development and publication of many other annual youth council manuals. The history of the Indian people of Oklahoma—yesterday and today—told from an Indian point of view, is too rich and too complex to be told briefly. This kind of meditative history is something that has to evolve from a group or people willing to think about who they are, where they came from and willing to act on where they want to go and what they want to become.

This is the tradition of the OIO Youth Councils. It will be up to you to complete this history, fill in the many gaps, and interpret it in such a way that it becomes the truth to all those who are sincere.

Parts three and four contain, respectively, discussion texts and a few short one-act plays which will be of valuable use to the Youth Councils. These parts are explained in the text.

Part five is a bibliography of Indian materials, which while no where near complete, is an excellent and balanced source for further Indian studies. Youth Councils that want to do more complete research into the issues that have been raised in this manual will find most of the materials that they need in this bibliography.

Beginning this year, as the need arises, more advanced bibliographies will be published for the use of the Youth Councils.



### CONTENTS

A Note on Using this Manual	page	III
Part One Some Questions and Answers About Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity Youth Councils		1
Educational Opportunity Programs		6
Part Two		
Some Historical Highlights - Introduction Chapter 1 - The Land Chapter II - Removal and Movement into Oklahoma Chapter III - Broken Treaties Chapter IV - The Struggle to Worship Chapter V - Tecumseh - The Story of a Leade	er	7 10 13 36 48 57
Part Three Discussion Outlines		65
Part Four		
Some Dramatic Presentations		84
Part Five		
Bibliography of American Indians	,	96



### ILLUSTRATIONS

		following page
1.	Tuscaloosa	15
2.	Black Hawk	20
3.	Kennekuk	
4.	Wah-Poho-Ko-Wah	26
5.	White Eagle	<b>29</b>
6.	"Tattgoed" Arapahoe	<b>30</b>
7.	Quanah Parker	36
8.	Ten Bears	<b>38</b>
9.	Satank	<b>39</b>
10.	Black Kettle	42
11.	Red Bird Smith	54
12.	Tecumseh	57

62



### PART ONE

# SOME QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ABOUT OKLAHOMANS FOR INDIAN OPPORTUNITY YOUTH COUNCILS

### WHAT IS AN OIO YOUTH COUNCIL?

The Youth Councils are groups of Indian young people in towns and communities in all parts of Oklahoma. There are many reasons why young people join together to form a Youth Council. They may want to work together on community service projects. Or be a strong, young Indian voice in their school or town. Or work towards reshaping the future. Or they just might want to spend time with each other. There are probably as many reasons for starting an OIO Youth Council as there are members. But whatever the reason, we have a good thing going. Because all across the state Indian young people are working, talking, being together to do some important things.

## WHO CAN JOIN AN OIO YOUTH COUNCIL?

All Indian young people can join. The more members there are, the more we can do.

# IS THERE A STATEWIDE ORGANIZATION OF YOUTH COUNCILS?

Yes. There are more than 70 010 Youth Councils in Oklahoma. The state is divided into 10 districts. There are frequent district meetings, and the Councils in each district get together to work on projects. Each district elects officers. The district officers are members of the statewide Youth Board, which plans activities and makes policy.

Each auring there is a Statewide Youth Conference in Norman for all Youth Council members. Conference activities have included: Indian awareness discussions; meetings with admissions officers and Indian students from several colleges and universities; guest speakers; election of statewide officers; awards luncheons and teen hops; and much more.



The young people attending the conference discuss important issues and pass resolutions on those issues. Newspapers and TV have reported on the resolutions—which shows that when we all get together our ideas can really be heard.

### VHO RUNS A LOCAL YOUTH COUNCIL?

You do. The Council belongs to the members. You run it. You plan and hold the meetings. You decide what projects to work on and plan the activities. Nobody tells you what you should or shouldn't do. Plenty of people are more than ready to help—your adult sponsors and the OIO youth staff will work with you every step of the way. But what you do and how you do it—that's your decision.

That is the way it should be. It's a cop-out to say that you are the "future generation" or for older people to say you're too young to do things on your own. We all have to work together now. And there is so much talent and energy and leadership ability among Indian young people that we all suffer if it isn't used.

### HOW DOES A YOUTH COUNCIL WORK?

In a group effort you need organization. It doesn't have to be strict and formal—the Youth Council and the army. But you can't decide to do something and then just sit and hope that somehow it will get done. It takes planning and work.

You will need officers who are willing to work hard at making the Council successful. The officers should never do everything on their own, since the OIO Youth Councils differ from other organizations by emphasizing working involvement by each member in the program. The officers see to it that everything works smoothly and that everyone is involved.

The officers conduct the meetings and organize program planning. Most Youth Councils have four officers. (1) A President, who conducts the regular meetings and coordinates the Council's activities. (2) A Vice-President, who assists the President and conducts the meetings when the President is not there. The Vice-President is also responsible for appointing committees to do certain tasks—committees which include every member. (3) A Secretary, who takes notes on every meeting so that everybody will know what has been happening and what was decided. The Secretary also writes letters for the Council. (4) A Treasurer, who is responsible for the Youth Council's money.

Officers are usually elected in September for a term of one year.



Here are some pointers on how to keep your Youth Council running successfully.

- 1) Be sure every member takes an active part. To make the Council a success—and to make it a good thing for everybody—every member has to have a chance to participate. One way to do this is to form committees to do what needs to be done. A committee can get out publicity on a meeting, or do a certain task for a special project, or plan social activities, etc. By having committees, everyone will know what the group expects of them and nobody will be left sitting on the sidelines.
- 2) Hold meetings at least once every 2 weeks. If you don't meet often, some members may lose interest, and you will not be able to accomplish as much.
- 3) Plan your meetings carefully. Make out an agenda—a list of all the matters you want to discuss. Be sure everybody knows the time and place of the meeting, and has an agenda before the meeting.
- 4) Be sure everybody can contribute to the meeting. You don't have to use strict parliamentary procedure, but while the business of the meeting is being conducted, everybody who wants to say something should have to be recognized by the president. In this way everyone has an opportunity to express ideas.
- 5) If you vote on a question, do it in an orderly way. The steps are: (a) When someone wants to bring an issue to a vote, he or she says, "I move that we bring the question to a vote." (b) Another person seconds this motion by saying, "I second the motion." If nobody seconds, the question does not come to a vote. (c) The president then calls for a show of hands—first those in favor of the motion, then those who are against it. Whichever side has the most votes wins. The Secretary records the vote.

This procedure saves time and keeps things from getting too confused.

6) Try always to be working on a project or planning a new one. If the Council does nothing it won't be very exciting for anyone. And members will lose interest.

The projects you choose will depend on what you think is important. Past projects have included: writing and printing a newspaper; starting Indian History or language study groups; presenting Indian assemblies at school; organizing sports teams; working with local Community Action Agencies or Tribal programs; and tackling a whole range of school and community problems.



What your own Council does is up to you; but your sponsor and OIO youth staff will work closely with you on your projects.

7) Go to district and statewide OIO functions. The meetings are interesting and fun. You can meet kids from other towns. You can also get new ideas for your own Youth Council.

Your Council and the others in your district might want to plan joint projects or social events. A good place to get something going is at the district conferences.

- 8) Plan summer activities. Even though some members may be away, the Council will keep functioning. And it will be in good shape in September.
- 9) There should be either no membership dues or very small ones. No member should be penalized by money dues imposed through an OIO Youth Council.
- 10) Work closely with your adult sponsors and the OIO staff. They are there to help you in every possible way—helping you get transportation, or giving advise on your projects, or any number of other things. They do not run the Council—you do—but they are valuable people to have working with you.

### WHAT IS THE ROLE OF THE SPONSOR?

A sponsor is an adult who is chosen by the members to work with the Council. There can be more than one sponsor. The only qualification for sponsors is that they be interested in the Council's activities and willing to work with the members. At least one sponsor should always be an Indian parent or other adult. It can be a good idea also to have a teacher involved whom you can work with.

The sponsor should never take over the Youth Council. They should be friends and advisors, and should be at the meetings and participate in the activities. They should be willing to help the members in every way they can, but the meetings and projects are planned by the members themselves.

A sponsor is also useful in getting other adults interested in the Council and working with the young people.

## SHOULD THE OIO YOUTH COUNCIL BE CONNECTED WITH THE SCHOOL?

Yes, if at all possible. Schools are good places to hold meetings. If the Council is recognized by the school, it can have more of a



say in school affairs. It can also act as a spokesman for the Indian students, and be of use for Indian students.

If for some reason you can't have your Council recognized by the school, organize and plan your activities anyway. It is important to have school recognition because the Council can help kids to stay in school. The most important thing is having the Council.

# IF THERE ISN'T AN OIO YOUTH COUNCIL IN MY TOWN, HOW CAN I WORK TO START ONE?

If an OIO Youth Coordinator hasn't already been in touch with you, contact OIO. You can do this through the OIO Field Staff member if there is one in your area. Or you can write or call OIO. The address and phone number are on the front of this booklet.

The next step will be to get everybody interested in the Youth Council together for a first meeting, where the OIO Youth Coordinator will explain the program. Then the group and the Youth Coordinator can begin setting up the kind of organization we have described here.



### EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY PROGRAMS

The OIO Youth Program in addition to working with the youth council activities, also helps Indian young people plan their educational futures. Through its Educational Talent Search Program, a staff member talks with students individually to help them decide what they want in education. Then the staff person helps him apply to a school, college or university, or vocational training program. The staff member who works with the student will help him at every stage of the process—deciding what to do, applying for admission, getting financial aid.

To get involved with this educational counseling, talk to your OIO Youth Coordinator or any other OIO staff member. If you aren't in touch with one, write or call OIO and we will get in touch with you.

You can get information on admissions and scholarship opportunities available to Indian students from the OIO Youth Office or your Youth Coordinator. Opportunities keep on expanding, because OIO has been encouraging colleges and universities and other institutions to seek out Indian students and provide them with financial aid and supportive services. Be sure and talk over your problems or plans with an OIO Youth Staff member.



### PART TWO

# SOME HISTORICAL HIGHLIGHTS

### INTRODUCTION

Before Columbus came, all of what is now America was Indian country. Over the hundreds of years that the Indian cultures were developing, Indian men and women did some remarkable things. They developed advanced forms of government. (The constitution of the Iroquois Nation became a model for the American Articles of Confederation.) They produced some of the most beautiful art the world has ever known. They had religious beliefs that recognized man as only a part of nature, and respected rather than polluted the land. They knew how to love and share with each other.

When the white settlers came from Europe to our country, they were welcomed and trusted. If the first colonists had not been fed by the Indians they would not have survived the first winter. Tammany, a Delaware chief, put it this way to William Penn in 1682: "We shall live as brothers as long as the sun and moon shine in the sky." The first Thanksgiving was a symbol of peace and brotherhood between the Indians and the white newcomers.

Peace and brotherhood, however, were not to be the main theme of the history of the Indian's relations with the whites. The Indians were on the lands they had lived on for many centuries. They had developed their ways of living on those lands. The white settlers were unable to accept this and to let the original Americans—the Indians—live in peace. More and more Europeans came, needing more and more land. Sometimes the conflicts between the whites and the Indians were settled with treaties, but treaties were no sooner signed than the white men broke them. Sometimes the conflicts led to war. Many of the tribes were strong warriors but they were soon outnumbered by big armies and massive firepower.

Instead of a history of different cultures living side by side in peace, we have a history of white settlers moving West, killing Indian people and taking away their lands. We read about the massacres of the Sioux at Wounded Knee and of the Cheyenne and Arapaho at the battle of the Washita. We read of Indian tribes that used to freely roam the lands being herded into reservations on the



worst possible land. We read of a stream of broken treaties and unkept promises, of tribes that trusted the United States Government's word only to find out they had been deceived. We read of thousands of Cherokees dying on the 1000-mile long walk of the Trail of Tears, and even of soldiers giving Indians blankets that had been infected with smallpox.

The history books usually ignore the real truths of Indian history. They often skip over the accomplishments of Indian people and the beauty of the Indian cultures, as well as the killings and broken promises that were so important in Indian-white relations. Pick up any American history book and you will probably see that it begins with the "discovery" of America by Columbus. Then, if it mentions Indians at all, it probably talks of them as savages who made the lives of the white settlers difficult. This situation is changing but it is hard to get the straight story, told from an Indian point of view.

In the pages that follow you will learn some interesting things. You will read about the men and women of the tribes that are now in Oklahoma—who they were, what they did, how they lived. You will learn that they were remarkable people with beautiful cultures. You will see that to be a part of them should make you very proud to be Indian.

You will also read about what they came up against when the white men advanced westward—how many were killed, how many promises were broken. This, too, is part of the Indian story and if we are to know all about ourselves we have to know this too.

You may be asking, "Why study the past?" There are two reasons. The first is that what went before us is part of what we are today. You are an American, an Oklahoman, a son or a daughter. But you are also an Indian, and as an Indian you have a great and proud background. If you are to know yourself completely you have to know where you came from.

The second reason is that by learning about the past we might be able to avoid repeating the same mistakes. A lot of terrible hings happened after the white man came to the Indians' lands. We have to face what happened honestly and then figure out ways of doing much better. You are going to be responsible for the Indian future, your future. The lessons of the past can teach you something of where we should go from here.



### STUDY GUIDE:

- 1. How should Indians celebrate occasions such as Columbus Day, Thanksgiving, and June 25?
- 2. What day of the year do you think is most appropriate for a National Indian holiday?
- 3. Study the life of Squanto-what can we learn from his experience?
- 4. While it is generally true that non-Indians know very little about Indian life and culture, would it be better if they did? How can this best be done? What can your council do to insure true and equitable information about Indians?
- 5. Form a committee in your council to study the history books used in your school. Critique the material—develop ways to change this material to present Indian life in a fair and honorable fashion.



### Chapter I

### THE LAND

In the Indian religions and ceremonials the tribes shared a view of the earth and lands granted to them in common by the Great Spirit and Master of Life, for their well-being and caretaking. The land was not to be exploited, pillaged; "territories" of protection were marked out. Most Indians believed that supernatural powers governed the world and formed a link between man and all living things. This meant a respect for everything the Indian could see, hear or touch: the earth was the mother of life, the sun was the father.

The Indian forms strong ties to his homeland. Even the tribes who were not village dwellers had land areas they regarded as their own. And this without the confining European definitions of "Ownership". "Rights" to a land in the Indian view were determined by the Great Spirit's setting down the land as a home for the people, and by regular and wise use of the area. A primary cause of conflicts between Indians was the invasion of a tribe's "territory" and Indians went to war when raiding parties crossed invisible but vital barriers.

A book written by a Kiowa from Oklahoma, N. Scott Momaday, won the United States' highest award for literature, the Pulitzer Prize, in 1969, and begins with the land round about:

"There was a house made of dawn. It was made of pollen and of rain, and the land was very old and everlasting. There were many colors on the hills and the plain was bright with different-colored clays and sands. Red and blue and spotted horses grazed in the plains, and there was dark wilderness on the mountains beyond. The land was still and strong, it was beautiful all around."

Land is the basis of all things Indian, and has many meanings for the indian. The relationship of a tribe to its land defines that tribe: its identity, its culture, its way of life, its fundamental right—its methods of adaptation, its pattern of survival. Land also defir as the Indian's enemies—those who court the land and desire to take away for their own use. Because Indian land is, or may be, of value it has been and remains the source of almost every major conflict and every ongoing controversy between the Indian and the white man. Indian land is indian existence—land as a base in terms of acres, boundaries; land as a present source of subsistence, food, shelter, and income for survival; and as the basis for future



economic and social self-sufficiency, as the legacy which the present bequeaths to the future, the birthright of one's children and the economic surety of future survival; land as a resource to be protected for its beauty and utility and to be prudently used and developed; and the land introducing a sacred relationship between man and his universe, not to be defiled, desecrated or cheapened. It is the Indians' only real possession. Its destruction means the destruction of the Indian.

Between the years 1887 and 1966 the Indian land has been decreased from 138 million acres to 55 million acres. Indian land remains the subject of continual and unrelenting expropriation—most frequently in the name of progress, or according to principles that private interests must give way to larger consideration of public policy and social needs, and that such a yielding of interests should be structured to minimize the harm to private interests in general and to protect the interests should be structed to minimize the harm to private interests in general and to protect the interests of the majority. "The Greatest Good" always hobbles the Indian.

Public works are one device for seizing the Indians land. Indian communities in North Dakota, South Dakota, California, Arizona, Idaho, Montana, New York, and Pennsylvania have been sacrificed to flood, irrigation and hydroelectric projects. National parks are another device. And closely related to the taking of Indian land for the public good is the practice of relieving him of his land for what is termed "his own good". It was for the Indian's "own good" that Congress enacted the allotment program in 1887, dividing tribal lands that were collectively owned, and distributing them piecenneal to the individual Indians. The BIA promoted this program in the name of economic self-sufficiency. It attempted in this trade of Indian cultural traditions to remake the Indian in the white man's image, a homesteader tilling the soil, a rugged individual. But its effect was to break up the tribes, fragment the land, and make "surplus land" available for white purchase and occupancy. By 1934, two-thirds of the land held by Indians at the time of the Allotment Act had passed into the hands of the white man.

Land has meanings other than economic for the Indian. The American mind is capable of grasping the notion of a holy land in Jerusalem, Mecca, the Vatican—but not in northern New Mexico, or the headwaters of the Missouri River, or regions in Oklahoma to which a tribe has migrated and set up its shrine.

To the Taos Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, the Blue Lakes area is holy land. In resisting efforts by the United States Government since 1906 to expropriate the area, the Indians have stood by five principles. They are principles which the Federal government



finds unacceptable, but they are nevertheless the heart of the Indians understanding of land-especially holy land. And adherence to their principles has won them, early in 1971, title to their holy land. The first principle, understandable to all Indians, is that holy land is not for sale. The Government has continually made the Pueblos generous claims awards which have been rejected. They only desire to reclaim their land. In 1956 the United States Indian Claims Commission offered a cash settlement which was rejected by the tribe because it "cannot accept money for its sacred mountain land. Legally now, morally always, and in spirit which is outside of the time, this sacred land and its people have been joined together." Blue Lake, as the principle source of the Rio Pueblo, is symbolically the source of all life; it is the retreat of souls after death, the home of the ancestors who likewise gave life to the people of today. August ceremonies at Blue Lake serve to bind the youths of the Pueblo to the community as it exists and as it has existed over the centuries. Blue Lake, therefore, symbolizes the unity and continuity of the Pueblo. It is the central symbol of the Indians' religion as the cross is in Christianity.

#### STUDY GUIDE:

- 1. You have read about the Taos Pueblo gaining title to their holy land at Blue Lake. In Alaska, the Indians, Eskimos and Aleuts have negotiated a settlement for the lands that are being taken from them. Study and discuss these issues. What meaning do they have for you as an Oklahoma Indian?
- 2. Is an Indian identified as an Indian by a "Land Base" or is an Indian an Indian wherever he is?
- 3. Discuss the Dawes Act. Do you think it was advantageous for Oklahoma Indians to have alloted lands?
- 4. Does your tribe still hold land collectively?
- 5. What advantages do you see for holding lands collectively?



### Chapter II

## REMOVAL AND MOVEMENT INTO OKLAHOMA

The deep meaning the land had for all the tribes made their forced removal into what is now Oklahoma all the more tragic. Starting in the 1830's, and continuing through the nineteenth century, the United States Government drove the tribes from their homelands. We can see what this meant to several different tribes.



### THE CHOCTAWS

Peter W. Hudson is a fullblood Choctaw. In 1967 he was 90 years old, born in 1877. He was born near Eagletown, Indian Territory. In his later years, he worked with the Indian Agency for 13 years. In the beginning of Oklahoma Statehood, he was elected U. S. Court Clerk there, a position he held for 12 years:

"I was born in Eagletown, Indian Territory, down there in McCurtain County—just a post office, and no town. Well, my parents took their allotments in different places, but that was their home. I was raised there. That is my Mother and Daddy. My Grand-daddy, of course, came from Mississippi.

That Trail of Tears that we hear so much about—it was bad. I'll tell you that. I don't know why, why we were treated that way, I don't know. We Choctaws, as a rule, never did take up arms against the government of the United States at any time. In fact, as it happened quite a lot of Indians . . . why, when they moved us my Grandfather and Grandmother, of course, they were not married then, I don't think. They had to walk all the way from Mississippi here, crossed the Mississippi somewhere. And they come this southern route, I'd call it, down by Locksboat, Arkansas, into Indian Territory, and that's where they located just as soon as they got in there. Eagletown was right there on the border of Oklahoma and Arkansas. So, why we should have been treated that way, I don't know. Course years after that they made some payment, for what was left in the house-they just nailed it down as they left it, and they didn't have very much, I don't guess, but anyway they got payment . . . long years after that. I think my Dad got about 103 dollars, seems like. That was his part of it, his share of it, of what was left at their old home. Came here, and I've always been kind of proud of it.

So, why we should have been treated that way, I don't know."

By a bill enacted into law, May 28, 1830, the Indian Removal Bill, the legislature of the U. S. government "abolished and



took away all the rights, privileges, immunities and franchises held, claimed or enjoyed by those persons called Indians . . . . . By the time Andrew Jackson became a candidate for president in 1828, the subject of Indian removal had become a national issue. Jackson's attitude as a strong friend of the states that desired removal was well known. He had appeared in many negotiations to get Indian lands; his dominating personality impressed the Indians, and he beguiled many of them into thinking that he was their friend; so that with the tremendous influence which he exercised over them, he became the outstanding exponent of the white man's relentless contest for the lands of the Indian. One of the first important measures to be urged by Jackson after his election was the Indian Removal Bill.

Soon President Jackson got in touch with the Indians of the Southeast. He warned them that they would be compelled to move to the West or abandon their tribal laws and customs and submit to the laws of the state, which, he said, he was powerless to prevent; and white people would occupy their lands though the government had bound itself in previous treaties not to permit it.

The earliest recorded Choctaw History shows Hernando DeSoto, a Spanish explorer-invader engaging in a nine-hour battle with Tuscaloosa (Black Warrior) in the year 1540 in the area known now as Mobile, Alabama. The Choctaw warriors who survived the battle hanged themselves rather than be taken captive. The Choctaw were a proud people and brave. They too, had much to preserve in their homeland. Near Noxapater, Mississippi, is a large earthmound and a nearby cave. Known as Nanih Waiya, it is reverently regarded by the Choctaws as their legendary place of birth. But the history of the Choctaws reads similar to the history of other Indian tribes when tragedy and oppression walked close by them. At one time the Choctaws controlled large areas of land in Mississippi and Alabama. It only took the mechanics of the white man's treaties, and just eight moves to take all those millions of acres of land from the Choctaw. The treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek in 1890 provided for moving the Choctaws to Indian Territory in Oklahoma.

The year 1831 opened with the whole Choctaw tribe in confusion; though the treaty had been made it was not yet ratified.





terry torse



The Indians, not knowing whether they were going to be removed or when, planted no crops; whiskey peddlers, made bo'd by the dominance of the laws of Mississippi to defy those of the United States, plied their trade with the Indians. The Indians, in utter demoralization, were wasting their little subsistence, and many of them became so impoverished they were compelled to live on roots—or starve.

One of the inducements held out to the Indians to secure the performance of their treaty was that their friend George S. Gaines would have charge of their removal. They felt safe in trusting themselves, their wives, their children to his keeping as they believed he was honest and would not exploit them for profit. Their request was complied with only, in part, however; and on August 12, Gaines was appointed special agent to superintend the collection and removal of the Choctaw Indians as far as the west bank of the Mississippi River only where they were to be delivered to Captain J. B. Clark of the United States Army. Politicans were early at work seeking places of profit. The government was launched without compass or rudder into the uncharted sea of Indian removal; for the first time it was about to engage in the large scale removal of its natives from their homes, in which it was bound to clothe and feed them, transport them across the great Mississippi River, carry them part way by steamboats and then overland through swamps and across streams, build roads and bridges, cut banks down to the streams, and finally locate these expatriates, men and women, the aged and decrepit, little children, and babies, in a new country most of them had never seen.

At least a third of the tribe were to be moved that autumn. The Indians began to assemble at the rendezvous, gave their names and the numbers in their families to be entered upon the rolls. One method employed by the Choctaw was to make a stick about the size of a quill to represent the man heading the family, a smaller stick tied to it with a string to signify each son over ten years of age; and notches in the middle of the large stick to represent females over ten years of age, and other notches cut near the end of the large stick indicated all younger children, boys and girls. The leader of each band collected these sticks, tied them together and gave the bundle to the agent from which he made up his roll of the party.

Some of the Indians expressed a preference to go with their own oxen under leaders of their own choosing, independently of the government officials. This was favored at first until it was learned that this plan was promoted by mixed-bloods who planned



to feed the Indians along the way by hunting, and then collect the allowance of ten dollars offered by the government for each Indian arriving in the west. This exploitation was widely practiced on the full-bloods.

An observer told of seeing departing emigrants touching the tree trunks, twigs, and leaves about their homes in token of farewell to these old friends.



### THE KANSAS TRIBES

Indian Territory was rapidly becoming the home of many diverse tribes as the government carried out the removal policy envisioned by the post-Civil War Reconstruction Treaties. To the tribes on Kansas reservations, it was refuge from exploitation; to distant tribes from the North, it was a land of exile at the end of a journey as sad as the weary trek of the southern tribe in the 1830's; to the hunting tribes of the plains, it was a diminished portion of a once great range.

The process of dispossessing the tribes settled in Kansas continued throughout the Civil War. Delawares, Iowas, Sac and Foxes, Potawatomis, Shawnees, Peorias, Ottawas, Otoes and Missouris, Quapaws, Wyandots and the Kickapoos accepted new homes in the Indian Territory.



### THE SAC AND FOX

The area occupied for 23 years by the Sac and Foxes in Kansas was the poorest on the large reservation they shared with the Ottawas, Chippewas and Kaws. The sandy soil was not well adapted to the methods of agriculture developed in the fertile basin lands of the Mississippi. The Sac and Foxes made an earnest attempt to pursue life as they had for generations, yet hunting became a greater necessity. When pressure from whites in the area grew for removal of the Indians once again—to even more unsuitable surroundings—the Secretary of the Interior in Washington agreed and proposed that only those Indians who could subsist by agriculture should remain. Practically no Sac and Fox would fall into this category.

In September, 1863, Commissioner of Indian Affairs William Dole negotiated a treaty with the Sac and Foxes which provided for their removal to Indian Territory. This first treaty did not go into effect, but a second, signed in 1867 did. The lands were bought for prices "in excess of one dollar" per acre. Value was determined on the novel argument that in regard to the Indian the lands had almost no value and had become valuable only by virtue of the labor of the white man. The government agreed to secure them a tract of land not more than 750 square miles in Indian Territory. Mokohoko, leader of the conservative band, did not sign; but one of his heads men did.

Almost two years elapsed between the signing of the treaty and the Sac and Fox removal from Kansas. The interim was a period made hectic by the maneuvering of land hungry whites. Squatters swarmed onto the reservation and began parcelling out land among themselves and drawing up squatter's agreements to protect their illgotten gains. Protests were in vain, and there was no leader to drive out the vandals. Had there been, surely Governor Crawford of Kansas would have nome down hard on these Kansas tribes, no doubt claiming them "hostile bands, used to warring and pillage."

The reason for the delay in removal in the first place was the failure by the government in Congress to appropriate funds for the transportation of the men, women and children. For two years they waited, watching settler's cattle plowing through their fences, trampling their gardens.

When the removal finally got underway in December, 1869, Mokohoko and over two hundred of his followers remained behind, some of them joining their friends and relatives in Iowa, others



joining the Missouri Sacs in Nebraska. The main body of them traveled nineteen days. Wagons were provided for the young, aged, and ill. The weather was good, until they arrived. Then they were confronted—th a snowstorm.

The dismal introduction to their new home was also a fitting conclusion to their 23 year, one generation stay on the Osage River Reservation that had seen a tragic decline in the Sac and Fox population and the end of a way of life they had followed since time immemorial.

The only question remaining was how long Black Hawk's people could withstand the continuing assaults on their native culture. The answer might be: as long as necessary. A century has come and gone since the snow shrouded arrival of the Sac and Foxes at their new reservation in Indian Territory. In that time the United States has grown out of its distinctive frontier stage into a potentially more destructive position as a world power.

Three distinct periods are apparent in the story of the Oklahoma Sac and Foxes. The first covers the events leading to the allotment in 1891, the second carries the story to the 1920's and the third brings it down to the present.

During the first period, Mokohoko's band was finally forced into submission and made to settle on a tiny northern part of the reservation. They suffered beatings at the hands of Kansas whites and willful destruction of their property. Mokohoko's band was the backbone of conservative opposition to remaking the red man in the white man's image.

In Kansas, already, a good many had become dependent on government annuities, and in Oklahoma, with the final decline of the buffalo and even sandier soil, this dependence heightened among those who stayed. The annuity among Sac and Foxes was relatively high. There is not much hiring of the man broughtup to the excitement of hunting, to the hoe and the plow. The fertile ten per cent of the land was generally cultivated on a tenant farmer arrangement with whites, whereby a man who farmed the land for the Indian might keep a share of the proceeds. And the whites had the tools to do this kind of work.

During this first period, schools were set up, and Indian police were kept busy fetching runaways. During most of these years they bore the brunt of the expenses for the school while school administrators were chosen for them by religious denominations. Resentment ran high over the occasional transfer of children from





BLACK HAWK

JERRI HINSE



the agency schools to schools off the reservation without the parents consent or even knowledge. This intolerable practice led once to a raid on the Chilocco school and the liberation of Sac and Fox children in attendance there.

The adherence to accustomed ways of religion not only was an embarrassment to the missionaries, it also handicapped other "civilization" efforts. In Oklahoma in 1882, Sac and Foxes were listening attentively to an aged Shawnee woman who had had a vision in which the Great Spirit advised the Indians to revert to the old ways, much as Tenskwatawa, the Prophet had taught. A decade earlier in Iowa, Sac and Foxes had solemnly informed their agent that they had received a revelation from the Great Spirit directing the men to resume hunting, trapping, and fishing. The agent tried to put an end to this. He issued a proclamation against revelations that might interfere with the work habits of his charges.

Native hardiness played an important part in the early failure of government policies, but the corruption among whites aided considerably. The story is the same in tribal affairs of that period among peoples enduring breakup of their Kansas reservations and transplantation to Oklahoma; the Delawares, Iowas, Potawatomis, Shawnees, Peorias, Ottawas, Otoe and Missouris, Quapaws, Wyan dots, and Kickapoos. Nepotism, bribery, misappropriation of government funds, outright stealing were rife among the officials overseeing "civilizing."

In the face of failure, the government adopted two other means to this end in the 1891-1920 period: allotment and the dissolution of tribal form of government. Under prompting from their agent the Sac and Fox in 1885 met in council and adopted a constitution which he said was an encouraging start toward "a complete overthrow of their old Indian form of government."

The agent guaranteed this by stripping Chief Wancomo of his title and income for his opposition to the adoption of the constitution. It had once been the government policy to strengthen tribal chiefs in order to have some lever for control of the people.

Then in November, 1891, authorities in Washington, using economy and the general inaction of the tribal governments as excuses, concluded that the Indians should disband their government. Then, Washington's policy on tribal government during the first two decades of the Sac and Fox residence in Oklahoma was to first force on the people a governmental system for which they had no preparation and then to destroy that system. The net effect of the



policy was the achievement of its principle objective—the weaken-

ing of tribal organization.

Allotment was even more effective and deadly. The Dawes-Swealty Act of 1887, applied to the Sac and Fox in 1891, assigned land to men individually. Principle supporters of this were "friends" of the Indian who knew he would not apply himself to farming his patch so long as lands were held in common, and whites and others who wanted the Indian's land were also happy to urge cooperation. A minority of Sac and Foxes supported allotment, but majority was no longer necessary as far as the United States government was concerned.

The service or disservice of alloting the lands was carried out for many tribes by the Cherokee Commission. Approved or not, allotment was carried out. Then the Indians were urged to lease their allotments, which would afford them some income and contact with the whites. And that is how the Indians began to get their land taken away from them. By 1919, three hundred and forty-five titles in "fee simple" had been granted the Indians and these had usually been promptly sold to whites.

In 1899 smallpox took a heavy toll, and as part of the quarantine the village was evacuated and buried. Even the sacred bundles which had been cherished by generations of Sac and Foxes were destroyed. Smallpox was at once a source of profit for some and an accessory to the "civilization" program; although stricken Sac and Foxes might be only rolled in a blanket for their interment, their estates were charged for caskets.

Gradually the Indians drifted from the reservation; by 1956 of about fifteen hundred Oklahoma Sac and Foxes, there were approximately sixty families residing within the limits of the old agency.

The period before World War I saw the government's policy for dealing with the many tribes native to this country become a policy for dealing with "the Indian". The period since World War II has seen the policy toward "the Indian" go full cycle. In the twenties the government continued to urge the Indian to move out on his own and completely shed his Indian culture; Indian religions and customs were discouraged. With the passage of the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act in 1936 came a new deal for the Sac and Foxes. This effort to rehabilitate the Indian and save what was best in his culture had, understandably, had little effect on the Sac and Fox.

Currently, Sac and Foxes have a chief, but he receives no



salary and exercises little authority. There is no evidence of any effective opposition to the trend underway since about 1950 to dissociate the federal government from Indian affairs. One by one, federal services to the Indian are either being terminated or transferred to the state.

Although the goal of complete acculturation of the Oklahoma Sac and Foxes is finally in sight, there is little in the century and a half of United States dealings with these Indians to inspire pride in an American.



### THE KICKAPOO

The Southern Kickapoos were among the last of the Indian tribes of North America to accept a reservation in the Indian Territory. The Kickapoo tribe was another one of the victims of the treaties made when the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was pending in 1854. Their treaty provided for the union of most of their Kansas reservation and the voluntary allotment of the remainder. The ceded portion was immediately opened to white settlers, intruders constantly encroaching on their diminished holdings.

The Kickapoos had no intention of accepting the allotment provisions of their treaty. Dividing up the land was exactly like cutting up their mothers—meant quite literally—and destroying what the Great Spirit had given them. But their agent, conspiring with the Indian Office, contrived to bring it about. Again, agreement with the program by the Indians themselves was far from necessary in Washington. But Washington was concerned. A certain Senator Pomeroy of Kansas was president of a railroad line. In 1862. the agent drew up a treaty providing an allotment to each member and sale of the remaining land-nearly 125,000 acres—to the railroad company at \$1.25 an acre. The tribal leaders refused even to call a council to consider it. So the agent visited the people in their homes to get signatures of some "chiefs and leaders". Among these signatures was that of a ten year old boy, and those of some men of no great influence in the tribe. It carried the date of 1862, and was duly submitted to the Senate and ratified in May of the following year. There was an investigation when disappointed railroad companies learned of its contents, but the treaty stood.

The allotments were all completed by February, 1865, and the railroad company began selling its land to settlers that following summer. The allotments and sale fractured the tribe as sale has done once before. Not many Kickapoos accepted allotments. Most of them abandoned the Kansas reservation altogether, others joined their relatives in Mexico.

The Kickapoos home land is in Illinois. That is where the bones of their ancestors are buried. And when that land was sold, two bands of Kickapoos refused to migrate to the Osage River and Kansas lands. One was under the leadership of Mecina, and aggressively maintained their rights to the land of their forefathers. Soon after the War of 1812 pacifist faction had developed. Opposed to the continuation of the Kickapoo tradition of status based on



scalps and violence that had developed during contact with the white invaders, this group sought to follow a policy of peace with the long knives, substituting the art of agriculture for the art of war and demonstrating a friendly willingness to accomodate the white man's ways. Leadership for this movement was provided by a man named Kennekuk, a mystic with supernatural powers, who felt himself to be in direct contact with the Great Spirit. He collected about 250 followers from the Illinois and Wabash Kickapoos.

Kennekuk's teachings were imported to his people through preaching, fasting, and meditation. They included a sacred chart which set forth the path through fire and water which the virtuous must pursue. His followers were exhorted to remain where they if and lived worthily, abandoning thev native superstitions, avoiding quarrels among themselves and infractions of the white man's law, and resisting the seduction of whiskey, they would at last inherit a land of plenty, clear of enemies. The badge of his follower was a wooden prayer stick engraved with mystic symbols. The Kickapoo prophet at land moved a band west, at the threat of violence from the whites in power, and on that journey their horses were struck still underneath them by a disease called "milk sickness". Later it was Kennekuk's followers who migrated to Mexico, that they might have the freedom to follow their own religious practices uninterfered with, not wishing to be "tamed" by missionaries and government annuities.

Kennekuk is most closely associated with the group known as Northern Kickapoos, and was by 1854 acknowledged as their tribal leader. He had led them to settlement and prosperity in Kansas. The Kickapoo and Potawatomi tribes had merged, much to the dismay of the Southern Kickapoos in Mexico and Indian Territory. The 1854 treaty over Kansas lands, however, brought the Northern bands more in line with the Southern following the terrible exploitation that ensued. Many threatened the agent with plans to move south, and did move either to Mexico or Indian Territory in protest of allotments which they considered sacreligious. Those who accepted allotments soon were shorn of their historic tribal pride, haughtiness, and sense of superiority. These alloted citizens not of the Kickapoo tribe but of the state of Kansas and the United States—became mere statistical quantities in routine agency reports after 1865. It remained for the Southern Kickapoos to preserve the tribal traditions, lore, religion and reputation for individuality among Indian nations.

The Southern Kickapoos were not encumbered with an Indian







agent and had no relations with the United States. They numbered about 1500 and by 1860 were dispersed in bands of fifty to three hundred on the Canadian and Washita Rivers in the Indian Territory, on the Saline and Brazos in Texas, and on the Remoline in Northern Mexico. They were known in pre Civil War days as "Lords of the Middle Border". Frequently Kickapoo and Cherokee bands confederated, roaming and hunting together, and mutually sharing adventures.

Armies of the Republic of Texas forced migration of many Southern Kickapoos to Mexico in 1839, a time significant in the history of that tribe for it marks the beginning of the Mexican Kickapoos.

The Kickapoos in Mexico had settled down industriously, as was their want, at their farming and hunting. Texas had expelled them from their prospering settlement in 1839 and without provocation had attacked their two migrating bands in the Civil War. This meant they were "at war with Texas". They raided across the Rio Grande, bringing back cattle and horses, for which conniving Mexicans supplied a ready market. Texas appealed to the government for protection, and in 1870 federal commissioners began trying without success to persuade the tribe to come to Indian Territory. Then in 1873, a military force under Colonel Ronald S. Mackenzie was sent to bring them in forcibly. He watched through spies until he learned that the men had gone out on a hunt; then he invaded Mexico and attacked the undefended villages. The troopers killed a number of Kickapoo women and children, fired the lodges, destroyed the stores, and beat a hasty retreat to Texas before the hunters returned. They took the captives to Fort Gibson and held them as hostages to compel removal of the tribe to Indian Territory. They selected a tract of rich river bottom and timber between the North Canadian and Deep Fork as their reservation. What was left of their families was restored to them. By the early spring of 1874 they were clearing patches of ground and planting their corn, squash, beans and pumpkins. Before the summer was over they were living-in the words of their agent-in an "elegant and substantially built little village of bark houses". They raised a bountiful crop that year, and the men found good hunting.

The Indian Office, mindful of its duty to "civilize" them, tried to establish schools, and the Kickapoos refused; it supplied them with livestock and farm implements, and they are the animals while the machinery rusted; it tried to break down the influence of





WAH-POHO-KO-WAH

TERRY HORS.



their tribal government, and they continued under their own native government. Any suggestion of change was met by their threat that they would move back to Mexico. The reservation era made little if any impact on tribal culture. They continued their feasts and games, and their traditional religious observances.

An agreement drawn up by United States Commissioners in 1891 provided for cession of the reservation to the United States and the allotments of land to the tribal members. The Kickapoo protested, asking for a diminished reservation to be held in common by the tribe. Their assent was hardly needed. The agreement was approved by Congress in 1893. Fully two-thirds of the tribe refused to acknowledge their allotments or accept any per capita money under the terms of the agreement.

It was not until 1901 that the Mexican Kickapoo were getting established on their allotments. In this period, the tribe had two chiefs, one a woman named Wah-Poho-ko-wah. She ruled with good judgment and her word was law. By that time there was a Kickapoo school, and attendance was high. A handbook today says of the Kickapoo, "They are, of course, citizens of the state and their children attend the public schools . . . . Their young men were enlisted and made good records in the United States armed forces in World War II."



### OTHER TRIBES FROM KANSAS AND NEBRASKA

The Potawatomis, too, had made a second settlement in Kansas, after having been moved from Indiana. There they too suffered not only the hostilities of a tribe set against them, but also the grossly unfair treatment of land hungry settlers and railroad companies. They too were the victims of graft; and the pressure of whites set the rent after their arrival in Kansas. (The Potawatomis split into bands and traveled different directions when first crowded in upon by settlers. It is the Potawatomis of the Woods who settled in Kansas, their reservation having resulted from the Treaty of 1837 in which the tribe ceded their lands in Indiana).

A treaty of 1861 for allotment of the lands in severalty and sale of surplus reservation lands finally broke the spiritual back of the people. Most of the tribe took their allotments, because they were citizens of the United States by the terms of the treaty and were henceforth known as Citizen Potawatomi or Citizen Band. But soon a last effort was made to re-establish tribal, communal relations. The majority of the Citizen Potawatomi sold their allotments and joined in a plan to purchase a reservation in Indian Territory.

In 1867 a treaty provided for the registration of all who wanted to go to Indian Territory—not under the direction of their federal agent, but of their own business committee. For twenty-five years the Potawatomis lived on about 575,000 acres in what is now Oklahoma, until the question of allotment again reared its ugly head. By 1891 allotments were completed, with the usual surplus lands handed over to white settlement. Many Potawatomis in Oklahoma are today so thoroughly Americanized they have lost most of what enables one to distinguish them as Indians.

The Delawares lived in Kansas "as their permanent residence," by treaty, from 1829 to 1866. The Registered Delaware, those who agreed to move in order to keep their tribal affiliation, began to move to allotments in Oklahoma in 1867, at their own expense.

lowas moved to Oklahoma in 1876 to escape the cutting up of their lives and lands by allotment in Kansas. They were assigned a reservation in Indian Territory by executive order in 1833, a tract of 225,000 acres. But by 1890 the lar ds were alloted to reduce their holdings to 8,720 acres. The white "ran" for their land starting at 12 o'clock noon, September 22, 1891.



The whole Kansas tract of the Otoe and Missouri was bought out from under them in 1881 with a promise of a reservation in Indian Territory. They subsequently purchased, with their own tribal funds, a tract of 129, 113 acres located in the northeastern part of the present Noble County and the western part of Pawnee County. The government stepped into these tribally owned lands in 1887 to break them up into allotments.

The Shawnees lands in Kansas were alloted in 1854. Then when Kansas demanded the opening of Indian-owned lands to white settlers after the Civil War, the Shawnees entered into agreement with the Cherokees to become part of their nation. Absentee Shawnee lands in Oklahoma were alloted in 1872.

The Peorias, Ottawas, Quapaws and Wyandots share some history of Kansas life, removal to Indian Territory, and allotment, of what might be called phase II of the U. S. government war against Indians; although as late as 1890 at Wounded Knee some phase I tactics of outright slaughter were still being pursued.

Phase III—or is it four, or five?—continues in treacherous and insidious ways today. The Congressional policy of termination advanced in 1954 and pushed vigorously for nearly a decade was a combination of the old systematic hunt and the deprivation of services. The federal government would no longer be responsible for tribal remnants, but neither would the states. Vine Deloria, Jr., author of Custer Died for Your Sins, says "Termination is the single most important problem of the American Indian people at the present time."

Nebraska was admitted to statehood in 1867. It had been settled by white people more slowly than Kansas having only 30,000 whites at the outbreak of the Civil War. Also, it had fewer Indian reservations. Thus it never adopted the ruthless Indian policy of its neighbor state in forced sales and removals to Indian Territory.

The Pawnees, always friendly to the United States, had gradually ceded all their lands except a reservation thirty miles wide and ten miles long along the Loup River. They were constantly raided by the Sioux. In 1872, they voluntarily ceded this tract and removed to Indian Territory.

But Indian Territory was only so-called by whites. It was not, and perhaps has not yet become homeland. When Standing Bear, Chief of the Poncas in 1876, was being coerced to move some seven





CHIEF WHITE EAGLE





hundred of his people from northeastern Nebraska to Indian Territory, his young son died enroute. He refused to bury him in an alien land. With one old wagon driven by worn-out horses carrying the body of the child, the Chief and thirty of his people started out on foot in a blizzard early in 1879 for the old Ponca burial ground. They reached the reservation of their friends and close relatives, the Omahas, in eastern Nebraska, where they received sympathy and asylum. Then the Secretary of the Interior ordered their arrest, and General Crook was directed to take them back to Indian Territory. Crook's sympathy was all with the Poncas, but he took them into custody. Public indignation was aroused and the Chief's release was applied for under a writ of habeas corpus. The government argued that Indians were not "persons" within the meaning of the Constitution and thus were not eligible for the writ.

Finally in 1881 after a presidential investigation, Congress made an appropriation to compensate the Poncas for their losses. For the Nebraska reservation had been specifically guaranteed to them by treaty in 1865. Later the government deeded it to the Sioux, so the Poncas were simply evicted. Provision was later made for them to return to their Nebraska reservation, if they wished. Most of the Poncas, displaying broad powers of endurance, chose to stay in Indian Territory. Their Chief, White Eagle said, "I said to my agent, . . . I dwell in this land. Standing Bear remained in Nebraska. Their descendants still live in two locations: 441 in Nebraska by a recent estimate; 926 in Oklahoma.

This removal of reservation tribes from Kansas and Nebraska to the Indian Territory was paralleled by an attempt to restrict the range of the hunting tribes of the Central and South Plains and settle them on reservations there. The treaties made with them in 1865 were makeshifts. The railroads, stagecoach lines, telegraph crews and buffalo slaughters by whites had penetrated the Plains.

Through the arrogant blunderings of a General Hancock, peace on the Plains had been issued.







## THE ARAPAHO

The sign of the Arapaho, which is made by tapping the breast with the tips of the fingers several times, is interpreted by the Blackfeet and Crows as meaning "Tattooed Breasts" (Tattooed People), since it was the custom to tattoo three symbols on the breast: one to the right, one to the left, and one between. This was done by scratching the skin with yucca needles, then rubbing wood ashes into the wound to make an indelible bluish symbol.

The Northern bands, who tap their left breast only, to show they consider themselves the mother tribe, are referred to by the Southerners as Sagebrush Men. The Southerners explain their own sign by placing the right forefinger alongside the nose, which represents the path to the sun.

A study of the two branches — Southern and Northern — is a dramatic lesson in the effects of acculturation. Forced to accept the white man's way, the Southern people, after losing their ceremonials and tribal lands in Oklahoma, have gradually adapted or resigned themselves to an alien culture. The Northern Arapahos on the Wind River Reservation still attempt to cling to their original, timeworn traditions.

According to legend, the Arapahoes first lived in eastern America, but then migrated west to the headwaters of the Missouri River in Wyoming. At some unknown time a plague brought terror into the hearts of the people. Fearing that all might die if they remained in the vicinity of the bad spirit, they fled southward until they crossed a sizeable stream. There a great tragedy occurred. Onethird had crossed, another third was in the act of crossing, and the others were still to the north. As the Indians walked over the ice, which had been weakened by spring thaws, they saw a horn protruding. A child begged his grandmother to cut it off for him. In the Southern Arapaho version, as it is told today, it was a young woman, not a child, who wanted the horn for an awl. As the chopping beyan, a great monster arose, crushing the ice and drowning all of the people who were crossing. Those who had not yet crossed stood in confused anguish at the loss of sons, daughters, grandparents still on the other side, or lost in the stream.

Tribal divisions were not uncommon in early historic times. Undoubtedly the factors which brought about the known divisions were more basic than legendary quarrels or mythical disasters. They may have been fundamentally economic, for there were certain



limitations in Indian economy. As the maximum population that could be managed by the resources of buffalo and land in a given area was reached, internal divisions arose. The Arapahoes, like other tribes, would follow various leaders who favored a division of the tribe.

The Southern Arapaho have had a common history with the Southern Cheyenne since their treaty with the United States made at Fort Wise, Kansas, on February 18, 1861. At this time, the two tribal groups ordered all their land claims in adjoining portions of Nebraska, Kansas, Colorado, and Wyoming, retaining a small reservation in Eastern Colorado.

After gold had been discovered in the Colorado mountains, the whites began to question the rights of the Indians. "They must go" became the slogan, even among U. S. agents for the Indians. The whites had driven away their game. Starvation was upon them like a mad dog.

William Bent, first trader then Indian agent, who was aware of the scarcity of game and the restlessness and increased mobility of the Southern tribes afforded by the horse, hoped to protect their rights and interest, but he believed that the only solution to their problem was to settle them away from the trails and transform them into an agricultural people. Commissioner Greenwood was dispatched to the area to conduct the negotiations. Upon his arrival he found Little Raven, Storm, Big Mouth and Left Hand with their Arapahoes on hand to greet him, but most of the Cheyennes were two hundred miles away on a buffalo hunt. Black Kettle, White Antelope and three minor chiefs of the Cheyennes arrived later.

Greenwood represented the Indians as being fully aware of the rich mines discovered in their country, and yet they were disposed to yield up their claims without reluctance, and to accept a greatly reduced reservation in Colorado, \$450,000 over fifteen years, and a few campaign buttons for the current contenders for the Presidency. He felt they certainly deserved "the fostering hand of the government and should be literally encouraged in their new sphere of life." This nice enthusiasm was not shared by William Bent, whose conscience. one might assume, forced him to hand in his resignation. And then the sum of money was deemed too great for the number of Indians represented; so, although for years the southern branches of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes enjoyed occupancy rights as separate tribai units, the governor of Colorado declared the sum was meant for both the Northern and Southern



branches.

The event that led to settlement of the Southern Arapaho in Oklahoma was the great council held by United States Commissioners with the chiefs and leaders of the principle tribes of the Southern Plains on the Medicine Lodge River in Southern Kansas, in October, 1867.

A treaty with the Arapaho and Cheyenne during the Medicine Lodge council provided them an unsatisfactory reservation of poor land, lacking in wood and water, and bounded on the east by land reserved to the Osages who were feared for their might by all tribes. The negotiations were hasty, and Little Raven was not even made certain of the location of the lands until nearly a year later. During the time he was sitting as a delegate through the Kiowa-Comanche grand council, he entertained the hope that the Arapahoes would be treated separately from the Cheyennes. He made such a request but received no answer. Events of the following days showed that the commissioners intended to create only two reservations—one for the Kiowas, Comanches and Plains Apaches (Kiowa-Apaches), the other for the Cheyennes and Arapahoes.

The grand council was finally convened and the leaders of the two tribes signed the treaty. It assured the safety of railroad construction crews and travelers on the emigrant roads by removing the Indians from Kansas. In return for the Indians' guarantee of peace, the government agreed to provide buildings, schools, instructors, doctors, farmers, blacksmiths, carpenters, engineers, and millers. Besides furnishing clothing, the government agreed to expand twenty thousand annually for the benefit of the Indians over a period of twenty-five years. Opposition and uncertainties among the Western tribes in locating on reservations and the war on the Plains in 1868 that culminated in the destruction of Chief Black Kettle's Cheyenne village by U. S. Troops under Custer delayed the settlement of the Plains tribes in western Oklahoma. In 1869 they were granted a new reservation along the North Canadian and the upper Washita Rivers, bounded on the north by the Cherokee outlet and on the south by the Kiowa-Apache-Comanche reservation.

The Arapaho were the first of the tribes of the Southern Plains to recognize the binding force and importance of the treaties made at Medicine Lodge Council. Steadily refusing to join the war factions among the Cheyenne, Kiowa and Comanche in the uprisings on the reservations in Western Indian Territory in 1874-75, due



primarily to white aggression against the Indians followed by retaliation, the Arapaho remained encamped in the vicinity of the agency at Darlington during this difficult period; a peaceable people, loyal to their word in spite of the great suffering inflicted upon them, their buffalo-skin lodges in tatters, their clothing scanty, and near starvation most of the time.

#### STUDY GUIDE

These questions are meant to help you think about some of the issues raised by the material in this booklet and to consider what it means to be an Indian in Oklahoma today. You can think about these questions on your own or discuss them in your youth council meetings or with your family.

- 1. What does it mean to be an Indian?
- 2. You have read about some pretty horrible deeds done by the United States government to Indian people. But along with being an Indian you are also an American citizen. Does this raise problems? Or are all the problems in the past?
- 3. How are Indian people treated today in Oklahoma? Do they participate fully in the affairs of the state? Do you find any discrimination against Indians? If there is any, how closely is this related to the relations between Indians and non-Indians in the past?
- 4. Are you an Indian first or a tribal member first? Does it make a difference and if so, what? What is the Pan-Indian movement?
- 5. How is your tribe run? Do you know the name of your Chief or Chairman? How much of a say do you have in the affairs of your tribe? How much should each tribal member have?
- 6. How much do you know about your own tribal culture? You can find out more than you know by talking to some older people or by reading books. Maybe you would want to do a project on this.
- 7. Indians are a small minority group in America. What are the best ways for them to make their voices heard in the American Political process? Does history teach us any lessons about this? Is the Indian situation different from that of other



- minority groups? If so, discuss differences.
- 8. Pick an event that was discussed in these materials and do further research on it yourself. You could, for example, look into the Treaty of Medicine Lodge or the Battle of Washita. The OIO staff or your teachers can help you find books to read. Don't forget that older people know a great deal about past events.
- 9. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has been the Government's agency for dealing with Indians. Discuss the effect the BIA has had on the Oklahoma Indians. Discuss the "new" policy of the bureau. What should it be in your future.
- 10. Indians in Oklahoma today live more in the way that non-Indians do than was the case even a generation ago. Is this a good thing? Why? Do you have to live in the traditional way to be a "real" Indian? What is a "real" Indian?
- 11. There is a great deal of talk these days about saving the environment. You have read about how much Indians have always revered the land. Could the country as a whole learn a lesson on this from Indian values? If so, what is the lesson of how should it be taught?
- 12. Does knowing something more about your heritage change your feelings about being Indian? If it does, why and in what ways?
- 13. Are your feelings about being Indian, and about the Indian past, different from those of your parents or grandparents? Discuss.



## Chapter III

### **BROKEN TREATIES**

Treaties by the dozens had been made with Indian tribes, supposedly to last "as long as the sun shall shine and the rivers flow". Nearly all lasted for a much shorter time—and some had no effect at all, except to cheat the tribes out of their lands and freedom. We will look at a major Oklahoma treaty—the Treaty of Medicine Lodge, signed in 1867. Remember—this was only one of hundreds of broken promises and lies handed the Indians by the United States.





QUANAH

PERRY 12/71



The new peace plan for the southern plains included not only the Cheyennes and Arapahoes but the Kiowas, Comanches and Prairie Apaches. All four tribes would be established on one great reservation south of the Arkansas River, and the government would provide them with cattle herds and teach them how to grow crops.

Medicine Lodge Creek, sixty miles south of Fort Larned was the chosen site of the peace council. To make certain that all important chiefs were there, the Bureau of Indian Affairs stockpiled presents at Fort Larned and sent out carefully selected messengers. Black Kettle of the Cheyennes agreed to come. Little Raven would travel there for the Arapahoes, and Ten Bears for the Comanches. These men well knew the value of a peace at this point.

Ten Bears took part in all council sessions affecting South western Indians, and used his influence for peace. He declared in the 1867 council that he spoke for all the Comanches and that they would do as he agreed they should. This was borne out by the subsequent action of the Comanches, with he exception of a single hostile band led by Quanah Parker, which continued its raiding.

The speech given here was made at Medicine Lodge Council, at which were assembled the greatest number of tribal leaders and warriors ever to be assembled at one place. Ten Bears opened with expressions of courtesy, and then began an explanation which rights the balance on accounts of the wars of the period:

"My heart is filled with joy, when I see you here, as the brooks fill with water, when the snows melt in the spring, and I feel glad, as the ponies do when the fresh grass starts in the beginning of the year. I heard of your coming, when I was many sleeps away, and I made but few camps before I met you. I knew that you had come to do good to me and to my people. I looked for the benefits, which would last forever, and so my face shines with joy, as I look upon you. My people have never first drawn a bow or fired a gun against the whites. There has been trouble on the line between us, and my young men have danced the war dance. But it was not begun by us.

It was you who sent out the first soldier, and it was we who sent out the second. Two years ago, I came up upon this road, following the buffalo, that my wives



and children might have their cheeks plump, and their bodies warm. But the soldiers fired on us, and since that time there has been a noise, like that of a thunderstorm, and we have not known which way to go. So it was upon the Canadian. Nor have we been made to cry once alone. The blue-dressed soldiers and the Utes came from out of the night, when it was dark and still, and for campfires, they lit our lodges. Instead of hunting game, they killed my braves and the warriors of the tribe cut short their hair for the dead. So it was in Texas. They made sorrow come into our camps, and we went out like the buffalo bulls, when the cows are attacked. When we found them we killed them, and their scalps hang in our lodges.

The Comanches are not weak and blind, like the pups of a dog when seven sleeps old. They are strong and farsighted, like grown horses. We took their road and we went on it. The white women cried, and our women laughed."

Ten Bears knew what he wanted. It was just what he would not be allowed

"But there are things which you have said to me which I do not like. They were not sweet like sugar, but bitter like gourds. You said that you wanted to put us upon a reservation, to build us houses and to make us Medicine Lodges. I do not want them.

I was born upon the prairie, where the wind blew free, and there was nothing to break the light of the sun. I was born where there were no enclosures, and where everything drew a free breath. I want to die there, and not within walls. I know every stream and every wood between the Rio Grande and the Arkansas. I have hunted and lived over that country. I lived like my fathers before me, and like them, I lived happily.

When I was at Washington, the Great Father told me that all the Comanche land was ours, and that no one should hinder us in living upon it. So why do you ask us to leave the rivers, and the sun, and the wind, and live in houses? Do not ask us to give up the buffalo for the





TEN BEARS

15884 OR3E

ERIC Full text Provided by ERIC

sheep. The young men have heard talk of this, and it has made them sad and angry. Do not speak of it more, I love to carry out the talk I get from the Great Father. When I get goods and presents, I and my people feel glad since it shows that he holds us in his eye. If the Texans had kept out of my country, there might have been peace. But that which you now say we must live on is too small."

Ten Bears knew the price of way, and someplace in his heart he must have known the eventual terrible price of peace, all to be paid on the side of the Indians.

"The Texans have taken away the places where the grass grew the thickest and the timber was the best. Had we kept that, we might have done the thing you ask. But it is too late. The white man has the country which we loved and we only wish to wander on the prairie until we die. Any good thing you say to me shall not be forgotten. I shall carry it as near to my heart as my children, and it shall be as often on my tongue as the name of the Great Spirit. I want no blood upon my land to stain the grass. I want it all clear and pure, and I wish it so, that all who go through among my people may find peace when they come in, and leave it when they go out."

On October 21 the Kiowas and Comanches signed the treaty, promising to share a reservation with the Cheyennes and Arapa hoes, and among other things to confine their buffalo hunting to ranges below the Arkansas and to withdraw all opposition to construction of the railroads, for whose crews the buffalo were being slaughtered, by whose work the herds were being divided.

Perhaps it was that they still were open to acts of civility and humaneness. The government had made overtures of peace, in contrast to its tactics causing the wars of 1864 65; gifts, some freedom to hunt. Maybe this was why they signed.

The aging Satank of the Kiowas moved all present by his words after the close of the council.

"It has made me glad to meet you, who are the commissioners of the Great Father. You no doubt are tired of the much talk of our people. Many of them have put themselves forward and filled you with their





HERRY DESE



sayings. I have kept back and said nothing, not that I did not consider myself still the principle chief of the Kiowa nation, but others, younger than I desired to talk and I left it to them. Before leaving, however, as I now intend to go, I come to say that the Kiowas and Comanches have made with you a peace, and they intend to keep it. If it brings prosperity to us, we, of course, will like it better. If it brings poverty and adversity we will riot abandon it. It is our contract and it shall stand.

Our people once carried on war against Texas. We thought the Great Father would not be offended, for the Texans had gone out from among his people and become his enemies. You now tell us they have made peace and returned to the great family. The Kiowa and Comanche will now make no bloody trail in their land. They have pledged their word, and that word shall last unless the whites shall break their contract and invite the horrors of war.

We do not break treaties. We make but few contracts, and them we remember well. The whites make so many they are liable to forget them. The white chief seems not to be able to govern his braves. The Great Father seems powerless in the face of his children. He sometimes becomes angry when he sees the wrongs of his people committed on the red man, and his voice becomes loud as the roaring winds. But, like the wind, it soon dies away, and leaves the sullen calm of unheeded oppression. We hope now that a better time has come.

If all would talk and then do as you have done, the sun of peace would shine forever. We have warred against the white man, but never because it gave us pleasure. Before the day of oppression came, no white man came to our villages and went away hungry. It gave us more joy to share with him than it gave him to partake of our hospitality. In the far-distant past there was no suspicion among us. The world seemed large enough for both the red man and the white man. Its broad plains seem now to contract, and the white man grown jealous of his red brother. He once came to trade; he comes now to fight. He once came as a citizen; he now comes as a soldier.



He once put his trust in our friendship, and wanted no shield but our fidelty, but now he builds forts and plants big guns on their walls. He once gave us arms and powder, and bade us hunt the game. We then loved him for his confidence. He now suspects our plighted faith, and drives us to be his enemies. He now covers his face with a cloud of jealousy and anger, and tells us to begone, as the offended master speaks to his dog.

We thank the Great Spirit that all these wrongs are now to cease, and the old day of peace and friendship to come again. You came as friends. You talked as friends. You have patiently heard our many complaints. To you they have seemed trifling; to us they are everything.

You have not tried, as many do, to get from us our lands for nothing. You have not tried to make a new bargain merely to get the advantage. You have not asked to make our annuities smaller; but, unasked, you have made them larger. You have not withdrawn a single gift, but voluntarily you have provided new guarantees for our education and comfort.

When we saw these things we then said, "These are the men of the past." We at once gave you our hearts. You now have them. You know what is best for us. Do for us what is best. Teach us the road to travel, and we will not depart from it forever. For your sakes the green grass shall not be stained with the blood of the whites. Your people shall again be our people, and peace shall be our mutual heritage. If wrong comes, we shall look to you for the right. We know you will not forsake us, and tell your people to be as you have been. I am old and will soon join my father, but those who come after me will remember this day. It is now treasured up by the old, and will be carried by them to the grave, and then handed down to be kept as a sacred tradition by their children and their children's children.

There is not a drop of my blood in the veins of any creature living, and when I am gone to the happy land, who will mourn for Satank? And now the time has come that I must go. Good by! You may never see me more, but remember Satank as the white man's friend."

The Comanches and Kiowas had signed, but Black Kettle



must have questioned his standing within the tribe as Ten Bear did not, for he would not sign until more Cheyenne chiefs were present. An absence especially noted was that of Roman Nose, leader of the Dog Soldiers. The Arapahoes would not sign until the Cheyenne signed.

The frustrated commissioners agreed to wait one more week while Black Kettle and Little Robe went to the Dog Soldiers camp to carry on their persuasive diplomacy. By the government's action the Dog Soldiers raiding band was lent a credibility, an importance it need not have attained. For instead of regarding them as a group of dissidents, to be dealt with as such apart from the main body of the Indians represented (there were some four thousand Indians present at Medicine Lodge — it started out mainly as a Kiowa-Comanche Arapaho affair), the commissioners made a main objective securing the peace with the Dog Soldiers.

So five days passed, but no more Cheyennes appeared. Then late in the afternoon of October 26, Little Robe returned from the Dog Soldier encampment, pitched nearby to keep an ear to the ground of the proceedings. The Cheyenne warrior chiefs were coming, with about five hundred men.

In full gallop they crested a ridge south of the council grounds and formed four abrest like Hard Backsides Custer's calvalry men. Several were dressed in captured Army blouses; others were red blankets. Their lances and silver ornaments glittered in the sunlight. As the column came opposite the council grounds, the warriors wheeled into a platoon front, facing the commissioners across the creek. One of the Cheyennes sounded a bugle call and the horses leapt forward in a charge, five hundred voices shouting "Hiya Hi-iya!" They flashed their lances, lifted their strong bows and fired shots into the air. Two thousand hooves plunged into the creek with a magnificent spray of water. The front ranks whipped their ponies up to the bank to within a few feet of Commissioner White Whiskers Harvey, who stood motionless to receive them. The other commissioners were scrambling for cover. Reining their mounts to quick halts the men surrounded the commissioners, slid off their horses and began laughing. They shook hands all around. They had satisfactorily demonstrated the dash and bravery of the fighting Chevennes.

Among the things promised was ammunition for hunting. The Cheyennes finally signed. Roman Noses's signature was not among them.





BLACK KETTLE

(TRP4) 025 2-



The actions of the United States following Medicine Lodge were treacherous, deceitful, despicable. The tribes had moved south as they promised. They were allowed to starve there, no rations were sent. Youthful bands made their way north, above the Arkansas to hunt. No permission was asked from tribal leaders. No war councils were held.

Now the United States would deal with them on their own limited terms. Scouts were hired from among frontiersmen to combat these men with guerilla tactics. They were too busy hunting for food to take much account of the groups sent out to hunt down Indian camps and massacre them north of the Arkansas. Roman Nose, among others, was killed.

After they had rested from the seige, a considerable number of Cheyennes started moving south. With soldiers hunting every where for them now, their only hope of survival lay with their relatives below the Arkansas. Black Kettle was old, but still alive, and he was chief of the Southern Cheyennes. He received them, after scoldings, like wayward sons.

They had no way of knowing, of course, that the soldier chief who looked like an angry bear, Sheridan, was planning a winter campaign below the Arkansas. When the snows of the cold moons came, he would send Custer and his pony soldiers to destroy the villages of the "savage" Indians most of whom had kept their treaty obligations. To Sheridan, any Indian who resisted when fired upon was a "savage".

Black Kettle was murdered, taking flight on a pony with his wife behind, both unarmed.

After the battle of the Washita in December, 1868, General Sheridan ordered all Cheyennes, Arapahos, Kiowas and Comanches to come in to Fort Cobb and surrender, or face extinction by being hunted down and killed by his Bluecoat soldiers. Little Robe, who succeeded the dead Black Kettle as chief, brought in the Cheyennes. Yellow Bear brought in the Arapahoes. A few Comanche leaders, notably Tosawi, who was told by Sheridan that the only good In dian was a dead Indian, also came to surrender. The proud and free Kiowas, however, gave no signs of cooperating and Sheridan sent Hard Backsides Custer to force them to surrender or to destroy them.

The Kiowas could see no reason for going to Fort Cobb, giving up their arms, and living on the white man's handouts. The treaty of Medicine Lodge, which the chiefs had signed in 1867, gave them



their own territory in which to live and the right to hunt on any lands south of the Arkansas "so long as the buffalo may range thereon in such numbers as to justify the chase." Between the Arkansas and the western tributaries of the Red River, the plains were black with buffalo driven down from the north by the white man's advancing civilization. The Kiowas were rich in fast footed ponies, and when ammunition was scarce they could use their arrows to kill enough animals to supply all their needs for food, clothing, and shelter.

Nevertheless long columns of Bluecoat poly soldiers came riding to the Kiowa winter camp on Rainy Mountain Creek. Not wanting a fight, Satanta and Lone Violf, with an escort of warriors, went out to parley with Custer. Satanta was a burly giant, hearty, a man who enjoyed even his enemies. He was grinning with pleasure when he rode out to meet Custer. He offered his hand, but Custer disdained to touch it.

Having been around the Kansas forts enough to know the prejudices of white men, Satanta held his temper. He did not want his people destroyed as Black Kettle's had been. The parley began coldly. The interpreters, who knew fewer words of Kiowa than the Kiowa knew of English, finally made it understood that they must either bring their Kiowa bands into Fort Cobb or face the destruction Custer promised to tribes who would not heel. Then, in violation of the truce, Custer suddenly ordered the chiefs and their escort party put under arrest; they would be taken to Fort Cobb and held as prisoners until their people joined them there. Satanta accepted the pronouncement calmly, but he said he would have to send a messenger to summon his people to the fort. He sent his son back to the Kiowa villages, but instead of ordering his people to follow him to Fort Cobb, he warned them to flee westward to the buffalo country.

Each night as Custer's military column was marching back to Fort Cobb, a few of the arrested Krowas managed to slip away. Satanta and Lone Wolf were too closely guarded, however, to make their escapes. By the time the Bluecoats reached the fort, the two chiefs were the only prisoners left. Angered by this, General Sheridan declared that Satanta and Lone Wolf would be hanged unless all their people came into Fort Cobb and surrended.

This was how, by guile and treachery, most of the Kiowas were forced to give up their freedom. Only one minor chief, Woman's Heart, fled with his people to the Staked Plains, where they joined



their friends, the Quohada Comanches.

To keep a close watch upon the Kiowas and Comanches, the Army built a new soldier town a few miles north of the Red River boundary and called it Fort Sill.

In 1874 a Comanche sun dance would occasion a rally of tribal groups some of whom would march out to raid the camp of some white buffalo hunters. In 1890, the Kiowa sun dance would be altogether prohibited.

People broken, in spirit and body. Today the Fort Sill cemeteries hold the bodies of eight hundred tribesmen, among them:

Pacer	Kiowa-Apache	Died 1875
Apache John	Kiowa-Apache	Died c. 1923
(Konkayzachey)		5104 6, 1525
Quanah Parker	Comanche	Died 1911
Horseback	Comanche	Died c. 1887
Ten Bears	Comanche	Died 1872
Iron Mountain	Comanche	Died c. 1886
Wild Horse	Comanche	Died c. 1893
Tabananika	Comanche	Died c. 1890
Comanche Jack	Comanche	Died 1930
(Permamsu)		2.04.1000
Satank (Sitting Bear)	Kiowa	Died 1871
Kicking Bird	Kicwa	Died 1875
Big Bow	Kiowa	Died c. 1900
Satanta	Kiowa	Died 1878
Tohauson the Younger	Kiowa	Died 1893
Little Raven	Arapaho	Died c. 1880
Yellow Bear	Arapaho	Died c. 1880
Spotted Wolf	Arapaho	Died c. 1880
Mangus	Warmspring Apache	Died 1900
Loco	Warmspring Apache	Died 1903
Geronimo	Chiricahua Apache	Died 1909
Obits to	(Orig. Bedonkof)	
Chihuahua	Chiricahua Apache	Died 1900

In the decade following establishment of the "permanent Indian frontier" in 1834 the great Cherokee nation which had survived more than a hundred years of the white man's wars, diseases, and whiskey was to be blotted out. Because the Cherokees numbered several thousand, their removal to the west had been planned in



stages, but discovery of Appalachian gold within their territory brought on a clamor for their immediate wholesale exodus. During the autumn of 1838, General Winfiled Scott's soldiers rounded them up and concentrated them into camps. (A few hundred escaped to the Smoky Mountains and many years later were given a small reservation in North Carolina.) From the concentration camps they were started westward to Indian Territory. On the long winter trek, one of every four Cherokees died from cold, hunger, or disease. The Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Seminoles also gave up their homelands in the South. The great Seminole war and the removal of the tribal bands to the Indian Territory from time to time during the period following 1835 form the worst chapters in the history of the whole Indian removal. The war itself was one of attrition. In the campaign carried on in the fall and winter of 1837 under the command of General Thomas Jesup. Seminole towns and provisions were burned and destroyed. cattle were killed, and ponies were captured. Negro slaves of the Seminoles were captured and promised their freedom to track down the Indians. Families scattered, hiding deep in the Florida swamps while the men fought with coolness and courage. Disappointed and perplexed by their failure to conquer the Seminole, the United States forces resorted to low tactics. Oscoela, the great Seminole leader, and Wild Cat were captured under a flag of truce, but Wild Cat escaped from the prison. Osceola was held there until he died. The war came to a close only in 1842 when General W. J. Worth agreed that several hundred members of the tribe might remain in Florida under certain conditions. They stayed in the Florida swamps but never surrended. As late as 1856, when visited by some of their tribesmen, from the Indian Territory and approached on the subject of going west, they refused. Their descendants are the Seminole in Florida today.

In the North surviving remnants of the Shawnees, Miamis, Ottawas, Hurons, Delawares and many other once mighty tribes walked or traveled by horseback or wagon beyond the Mississippi, carrying their shabby goods, their rusty farming tools, and bags of seed corn. All of them would arrive as refugees, poor relations, in the country of the then proud and free Plains Indians.

And this is how the West was won.

Lyndon B. Johnson and Richard M. Nixon both have upheld the continuation of the war on Vietnam by saying that America



had to keep her commitments in Southeast Asia or the world would lose faith in the promises of our country. Indians can laugh themselves sick when they hear such statements. America has yet to keep one Indian Treaty or agreement despite the fact that the United States has signed over four hundred such treaties and agreements with Indian tribes.

### STUDY GUIDE

- 1. In view of the way the U.S. Government has regarded its own treaty settlements in the past, do you think the Alaska natives will be wise to trust the Government to keep all the terms of the settlement that Congress has recently voted?
- 2. How does the U. S. Government settle its broken treaties today?
- 3. What do you think of the practice of paying for stolen land rather than returning the land itself?
- 4. Do you think it is fair to pay only the amount of money the land was believed to be worth at the time it was stolen?
- 5. Does your tribe have a claim against the U. S. Government and if so do your tribal leaders consult with the members of the tribe on how it will be settled?



## Chapter IV

## THE STRUGGLE TO WORSHIP

The Federal government was not satisfied with killing many Indians and removing those that were left from their homelands. It also sought to suppress Indian religious ceremonies. The Ghost Dance was outlawed and a group of Sioux men, women and children were massacred at Wounded Knee for practicing it. But the Ghost Dance lived on, as did the ceremonies of the Nighthawks of the Cherokees. We will look at these and other religious practices.

The Kiowas speak of their evolution as being out from a hollow log into the world. And it was so. From a cramped, hill-cornered existence in the mountains of western Montana, came the Kiowas, four centuries ago, onto the open plains of the great southwest. As the prairies' broad expanse opened up their horizons, a new object and symbol of worship expanded their consciousness by saying, "Take me with you and I will give you whatever you want." Tai-me, the Sun Dance doll, gave them a share in the divinity of the sun, and its radiance shone a golden age in the history of that tribe. As late as the early nineteenth century in this country some Indians still could realize the full bloom of their cultures.

But by the end of that century, strangulation of the native cultures was almost complete. The last Kiowa Sun Dance was held in 1887 on the Washita River above Rainy Mountain Creek. The buffalo had been slaughtered in America. The elders of the tribe had to go to Texas to beg and barter for an animal, essential to the ceremonial worship of the sun. The last time the Kiowas came together as a living Sun Dance culture, July 20, 1890, at the great bend of the Washita they could find no buffalo, and had to use an old hide. Nonetheless, the ceremony would proceed—until a company of soldiers, under orders to disperse the crowd, rode out from Fort Sill to commit an ungodly act, deicide—the Kiowas were prevented from continuing their worship, and were dispersed. The buffalo hide was pulled down. The nineteenth and much of the twentieth century in the history of America have seen the completion of the throttling of cultures native to this land.

In 1887 the General Allotment Act (the Dawes Act) was passed, its object being to lead the Indian to self-support and worth-while citizenship, responsibility, and pride—all necessary to remake



ing him in the white man's image. It was to give the Indians, individually, a piece of land, in direct conflict with and ignorance of tribal life styles. Each allotee was to receive 160 acres.

The keynote to the active program of forced acculturation was sounded in 1889. The government edict stated: "The tribal relations should be broken up. Socialism destroyed, and the family and the autonomy of the individual substituted." Many proposals were made concerning how this might be accomplished. As a first measure, a course of study was proposed and "Rules for Indian Schools" were formulated. The abolishment of all Indian books was included. This did not affect the Arapahoes for they then had no written language, but the prohibition against the use of their native tongue distressed them. They were proud of their difficult language, which few outside their tribe could master. No Indian child was permitted to speak a word of his own tongue under penalty of severe punishment. One Southern Arapaho woman, in telling of her experiences in the government school, says she was so afraid of losing her own language that she used to go to the furnace room and talk to herself.

On March 19, 1890, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs proposed yet another plan: changing Indian names. As far as possible, the scheme was to provide an English Christian name.

Not only was the Indian supposed to accept and use the English language and adopt his new name, he was also directed to cut his hair and dress like a white man. The white man's clothing is drab and uncomfortable. Shoes are difficult to wear, after the pliable softness of moccasins. Most tried to make the best of it, but the hair was another matter. "I would rather die than part with my hair!", one old man said bitterly. Nothing short of force could induce them to cut their hair for it was considered cowardice among the older men to deprive the enemy of a possible scalplock. Finally, when it became mandatory that all boys have their hair cut before attending school, the parents would take them to the elders of the tribe to have it done ceremonially. A serious effort was made to stop the practice of painting. The rule against it was not rigidly enforced; though the commissioner, through the agents, told "the Indians" that paint was a direct cause of eye trouble.

The most drastic edict of all concerned the banning of ceremonial practices, such as feasts and dances—in fact, gatherings of any sort that might be detrimental to the "civilizing influence." Enforcing the law was difficult, and made more so by the spread



of a doctrine that by the 1890s was sweeping the Plains like an arm reaching out from the sea, the Ghost Dance. The Arapahoes' contemplative disposition and devout religious nature made them perhaps the strongest advocates of this new faith.

### I. The Ghost Dance

Before Tenskwatawa, in the 1760s, a prophet had appeared among the Delawares and preached a union of all the red tribes and a return to the old Indian life, for he too had taken a journey to the spirit world to see the Master of Life. His teachings were taken up by Pontiac, the great Ottawa chief who urged the confederacy of the tribes to oppose the advance of the English.

After the War of 1812 and the treaties over the next twenty years that removed almost every tribe on the eastern seaboard to west of the Mississippi, a prophet proclaimed himself among the Kickapoo, nameu Kenekuk, urging them to hold their ground in Illinois, and not to remove to the rugged hills of Missouri, occupied then by the Osages. He gained influence with his tribesmen through his report of revelations from God. In a visit to a U.S. Army General in St. Louis, he explained with eloquent simplicity the current situation of his people as revealed to him. At this particular juncture of time the Great Spirit had told Kenekuk to tell his people to throw away their medicine bags and r + to steal, not to tell lies, not to murder and not to quarrel; all were conceived in the imitation of a Christ. If they did, they could go on the straight path of the good, and if not, the crooked path of the bad which would lead them into a breach of fire. There would be an assembly of all the tribal leaders and a great preaching. Again the opportunity would arise to discard their bad doings. If they did not, destruction would come down on the earth. If they did discard them, they would then be led across the fire to a bleak prairie. The sun would be hid by four black clouds, and the Great Spirit would come to make further explanations.

About 1870 another prophet arose among the Paiute in Nevada. As most Indian movements are unknown to whites at their inception, white history puts the date from 1869 to 1872. He is said to have been the father of the "Messiah" of the Ghost Dance religion. A man named James Mooney travelled to Nevada to meet the "Messiah" named Wovoka. He said his father was not a prophet or preacher, although he used to have visions and was invulnerable.



Evidence shows however that he did introduce a new religious dance among his people, and the hopes he held out then were the foundation on which his son built the structure of the Messiah religion.

Another prelude to the Messiah religion, though entirely distinct from the Ghost Dance was introduced in 1883 among the Kickapoo and Potawatomi in northeastern Kansas by visiting Potowatomis, Winnebagos and Ojibwas from Wisconsin. A large number of the Sac and Fox, Kickapoo and Potowatomi of Oklahoma were also believers in the religion of which the ritual part consisted chiefly in a ceremonial dance. As its doctrine taught the same code of morality as the ten commandments and condemned drinking, gambling and horse-racing, the agents of the time generally saw fit not to condemn it.

An Apache prophet named Nakai-doklini attracted official attention in Southern Arizona in 1881. Resurrection of the dead and return to olden ways figured prominently too in his religion. Yet matters grew serious with his claim that two of his tribal ancestors, beloved among the people and killed a few months before, would not materialize because of the presence of whites. He further reported that whites would be out of the country by the time the corn was ripe. The agent called on the commanding officer to "arrest or kill him or both." The result was another in the long series of Apache outbreaks in response to such actions on the part of whites.

Agent Patrick's observation on Indian religions belies the the common misconception among whites that Indians did not worship God. Mrs. Myrtle Howling Buffalo (Lincoln), granddaughter to the Arapaho, Sitting Bull, living today near Canton, says, "The whites think we did not know God; that is very wrong. Many of our Arapaho Ghost Dance songs are sung to Him. We have always known Him." As one song goes:

My Father, have pity on me! I have nothing to eat, I am dying of thirst—Everything is gone!

Her grandfather Sitting Bull was in Wyoming, having followed a hunting party there. In 1890-95 he returned to his Southern Arapaho people to bring to them the Ghost Dance. He had felt



greatly troubled in Wyoming, had fasted, and proceeded to a mountaintop to pray. He saw a man coming toward him who said to him, "What do you want?" Sitting Bull replied, awed by the mystery of the man's resence there, "What would you have me give of myself to my people." and the presence delivered to him the precepts of the Ghost Dance religion, its dances and songs, to take back to Oklahoma. Sitting Bull visited Wovoka, but a white man who talked to him wrote that Sitting Bull said "he does not believe that he saw the veritable 'Jesus' alive in the North, but he did see a man there whom 'Jesus' had helped or inspired."

At a great Ghost Dance, held at Sitting Bull's return, on the South Canadian river, about two miles below the agency at Darlington, Oklahoma, it was estimated that 3,000 Indians were present, including nearly all of the Arapaho and Cheyenne, with a number of Caddo, Wichita, Kiowa and others. To these latter ones Sitting Bull communicated his teachings by sign language, for he spoke only his native language. The first trances of the Ghost Dance among the Southern tribes occurred at this time through the medium of Sitting Bull.

First, selected ones would be painted by the spiritual leader of the tribe. The paint cleanses and purifies the wearer. Mrs. Howling Buffalo (Lincoln) is today the keeper of the paints for the Arapaho. She paints her grandchildren in times of extreme illness, and one Arapaho family came to her to be painted following the death of a loved one, to be purged of their sorrow. She used the paints herself following the death of her son while serving in the U. S. armed forces. "I depend on the paint in a way — an Indian way. I depend on the paint."

Following the painting, the dancers arrange themselves in a circle to begin the songs and prayers that make one's mind leave the body in search of spiritual contact. Then the men sit to rest and smoke the sacred pipe. Wo lien dancers do not smoke.

As the dancing proceeds, the dancers fall into hypnotic trances brought about by the medicine man's waving of scarves or feathers before the dancer's vision. Falling then into states of unconsciousness, the dancer meets those he has sought in the spirit world. From sundown to dawn and on, the dancers would often spend several days and nights trying to establish communication and understanding with the unseen elements of nature.

"No one is here any more who is eligible to dance and teach



the Ghost Dance. Sitting Bull died and the Ghost Dance with him. Maybe the pipe and things got sold. I don't know. Maybe that's why so many of our people have such bad luck. The children have no clothes, nothing to eat. We have to have respect for what little we have," said Mrs. Howling Buffalo (Lincoln).



# II. The Cherokee Nighthawks

Cherokees also well know that a man's spirit life is central to his vitality and humanity. "We are  $\epsilon$ -dowed with intelligence, we are loyal, and we are spiritual," said Re bird Smith.

Redbird Smith, who was the moving spirit of the Nighthawk branch of the Keetoowah organization of full-blood Cherokees, was born July 19, 1850, somewhere near the border between Oklahoma and Arkansas at the town of Fort Smith. his father and mother, together with other Cherokees, were enroute to Indian Territory from Georgia.

Pig Redbird Smith (the name Smith being added by the white people in Georgia because he was a blacksmith by trade) was an old and ardent adherent of the ancient rituals, customs, and practices of the "Longhorn" group of Eastern Indians of which the Cherokees were the head band or tribo.

At an early date in the boyhood life of Redbird Smith, his father dedicated him to the services and cause of the Cherokee in accordance with ancient customs and usages. At the early age of ten years, Redbird received instruction at the council fires.

As he came of age, he was instrumental in reviving a spiritualism through ritual that his people were sorely in need of following their removal and the fatal blow of the Civil War. "I have always believed that the Great Creator had a grand design for my people, the Cherokees. I have been taught that from my childhood up, and now in any mature manhood I recognize it as a great truth. Our forces have been dissipated by external forces, perhaps it has been just a training, but now we must get together as a race and render our contribution to mankind."

Seven clans make up the Nighthawk Keetoowah of Cherokees. This organization today functions as the religious funnel for the transmission of culture to the children, as well as exercising the spiritual natures of the elders. Their spiritual leader is Chief William Smith, a descendant of Redbird Smith, who presides over the keeping of the fires. Stomp dances, ball games, sermons and individual prayer are the means by which the group communes with each other and with the Great Spirit. Entry is by birth, marriage, or invitation through personal dedication.

In the current initiation ceremonies, held at the Redbird Smith grounds between Sallisaw and Vian, the initiate and helpers sit around a fire to smoke the sacred pipe, so that all that transpires





RED BIRD SMITH

FERRY JORSE



might be from the heart and true. After the Chief invokes the Creator, that he may listen to the new voice being raised to him, and the initiate voices his dedication and desire for union, the members circle in three rings around the fire (men, women, and children) to join hands with their new members.

The Nighthawk Keetoowah is charged with the keeping of the sacred flare for the tribe. Legend has it that God gave the Cherokees fire during their encampment thousands of years ago in what is now Georgia, North Carolina and Tennessee. Fire introduced a new stage of well being to the people, because they could now fashion better tools with sharp edges, heat rock and wet it to chip arrowheads and flints. Therefore they could hunt game and kill from further away, then with sharp instruments remove the hide, cook the flesh. Warmth in winter at fireside, besides perhaps the stimulation of imagination and story-telling while gazing into the flame--all these things made fire sacred to the Cherokees. And it is the Nighthawks who quard that flame under the guidance of Redbird Smith who is thought of today as something of a prophet. In the 1880's he revived his people to their task as keepers of the light. In those days many pilgrimages were made to hear and see Redbird Smith. Redbird prophesied the increased restrictions that would be put on the Cherokee cultures by white civilization, yet considered it training for spiritual strength, and believed that it was through the spirit that man found and perpetuated his real strength.

The Nighthawks are abstainers, and periodically fast as part of their religious observance. Once a month they come together to listen, to dance, and to chant songs that are not translatable because they are God-given and undecipherable by mortal man. These meetings last a day and a night, with dancing convening at midnight and continuing through til dawn.

The group is supported by donations from the members and and gifts from the tribe. State aid to improve the grounds has been refused, so that the grounds might remain a sacred place. Today the Keetoowah leases these lands, which by rights should be their very own.



#### STUDY GUIDE

- 1. Do you think the deliberate attempt to destroy Indian religious practices and beliefs was in anyway justifiable?
- 2. Do you feel that Indian religious beliefs are inherently opposed to the beliefs of other religions such as Christianity?
- 3. Do you think it would be good to revive Indian religious practices that have been lost?
- 4. Invite an older member of your tribe to speak to your group about the religious beliefs of your tribe.
- 5. Do a study on the Native American Church.



### Chapter V

#### TECUMSEH - THE STORY OF A LEADER

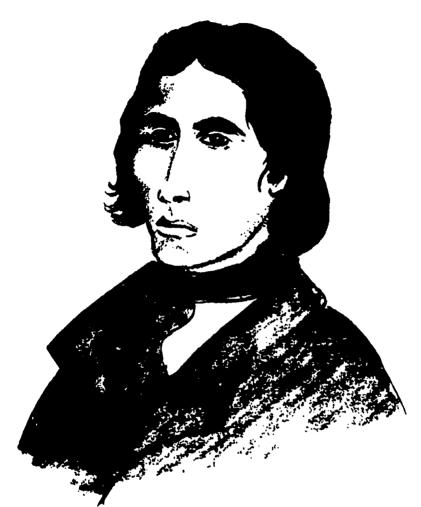
Perhaps the greatest native leader in the long existence of the Indians of the United States was Tecumseh, Tecumseh died 150 years ago. He was a Shawnee, but considered himself an Indian first, and fought to give all Indians a national, beyond their tribal, consciousness and to unite them in defense of a common homeland where all might continue to dwell under their own laws and leaders. He was intelligent, learned and wise, and was respected, even among his white enemies, for his integrity and humanity. He fought to make Indiana a country of, by and for Indians. Not only was Indiana lost, and the dream for the self-determination of a people, but also were all the tribes thrown back on their separate resources, as they had been since the organizing of their conflict with white men, and re-established a pattern on which individual tribes or regional confederacies fought hopelessly to cope alone with the invaders. Nonetheless, his uncompromising leadership, fiery courage and tireless energy brought the Indians startlingly close to victory.

Tecumseh was born in Ohio in 1768. His mother was probably Creek from Eastern Oklahoma. His father was a Shawnee war chief named Pucheshinawa, from Florida, whose murder by frontiersmen (forbidden by treaty to come to the area in Ohio where the murder took place) filled Tecumseh with horror and hate for the white man. Tecumseh was adopted by Chief Blackfish and was trained in personal conduct, oratory and tribal lore.

In his teens Tecumseh joined a band of Shawnees that tried to halt the white invasion by intercepting the settlers' flathoats that came down the Ohio River from Pennsylvania. After a certain river battle, the Indians captured a settler and burned him at the stake. Tecumseh, then about fifteen years old, watched the spectacle with horror. He suddenly leapt to his feet and made an eloquent appeal that shamed the Indians for their inhumanity. Tecumseh became known for his insistence upon the absence of cruelty in the treatment of prisoners.

The U.S. government's Indian policy in the later 1700s exclusively favored the settlement of whites against the Indian claims to their homelands. Tecumseh battled U.S. Army detachments sent out to protect the encroaching settlers. In 1792, he became





TECUMSEH

TERRY OR. E.



leader of all the Shawnee warriors in the South. Soon after he moved North to defend his native Ohio against Major General Anthony Wayne. The Indians lost, and when Wayne invited the chief to a council at which he encouraged them to sell two-thirds of Ohio to the U. S. government for about \$20,000 in goods and the promise and annuities. Tecumseh split with the chiefs and refused to accept what the council had done.

The peace envisioned for the Northwest Territory by Wayne's council lasted less than a decade. Though the Indians acknowledged white possession of southern Ohio, many of them continued to live and hunt on their former lands, and they were in constant friction with frontier settlers. And as whites continued to come down the Ohio River, they began to press for the opening of new Indian lands to the white settlers and the removal of Indians further west to the lands as yet unconquered by the white man. Again and again they showed themselves ignorant of a view of homelands other than their own view, that a n:an merely belonged where he owned. The whites were a people transplanted to this continent. They had left their homeland, so why shouldn't the Indian, they thought, so long as he had someplace to live?

In the early 1800s then it was time for Tecumseh to unite his people. Another tragedy had struck the Indians. Traders and settlers had brought with them large quantities of liquor to which some of the Indians, in closer contact with whites than Shawnees, were succumbing, beaten down in their spirit as they already were by nearly a hundred years of waiting for their rights to exist as a people. Tecumseh himself refused to drink whiskey and preached angrily against its use by his followers. One Shawnee, however, who became noted among his people as a depraved drunk was Tecumsen's younger brother, Laulewasika.

Yet he was to become Tecumseh's invaluable ally in rousing his people. A loudmouth and idler, he had lost an eye in an accident and wore a handkerchief over the blank socket. For years he drank heavily and lived in laziness. Then, in 1805, when Laulewasika was just over thirty years old, a great religious revival was stirring the country. Laulewasika was aroused by the dancing and vigorous physical activity of itinerant Shaker preachers. Mystical forces of the spirit stirred within him.

During a frightful epidemic of sickness among the Shawnees, Laulewasika was overcome with what he took to be a "deep and awful sense" of his wickedness and fell into a trance. He was the



first of many, of which spoke of meeting the Indian master of life. This Master showed him the horrible torrents and sufferings of persons doomed by their own sloth and pointed out another path, beautiful, sweet and pleasant. Laulewasika's regeneration was begun. He continued to have trances and commune with the Master of Life. He changed his name to Tenskwatawa, "the Open Door", which it is said he took from the saying of Jesus "I am the door". He gathered his tribesmen around him at the ancient capital of Wapahoneta, within the present limits of Ohio, and announced himself as the bearer of a new revelation from the Master of Life. He declared he had been taken up in the spirit world and had been permitted to lift the veil of the future—had seen the misery of evildoers and learned the happiness that awaited those who followed the precepts of the Indian god.

In earnest he implored his people, denouncing witchcraft practices and medicine juggleries the tribes were falling into. He solemnly warned against the white man's poison, alcohol, that flames would issue from the mouths to torment those who continued its use. He urged that the young cherish and respect the aged and infirm. All property must be held in common, according to the ancient law of their ancestors. The Indian women must cease to intermarry with white men, the two races were distinct and must remain so.

Intense excitement followed the announcement of his mission, Indians made pilgrimages to his headquarters in Greenville, Ohio, sometimes dying of hunger enroute. A crusade commenced against all suspected of witchcraft and great cruelty followed in its wake. Tecumseh put a stop to these persecutions. Followers soon were gained from almost every tribe. Tenskwatawa's growing influence and the concentration of natives around him disturbed Governor Harrison of the Northwest Territory. He began to scoff publicly at the Prophet, hoping that ridicule would undermine the natives' belief in him. But he made little progress. Then in April, 1806, he challenged Tenskwatawa to perform a miracle. "If he really is a prophet," he wrote to one group of Indians, "ask him to cause the sun to stand still, the moon to alter its course, the rivers to cease to flow, or the dead to rise from their graves. If he does these things, you may then believe he has been sent from God."

It was perhaps an accident of fate that the challenge had been made, for Tenkswatawa successfully met this challenge two months later at Greenville. He stood in the midst of a huge gathering of



followers on June 16, 1806, and pointed to the sun. The sun grew dark as the moon passed in front of it to block its light. History records that he learned of an eclipse from some white source, perhaps a British agent. Nevertheless, the agent did not make the eclipse at that time and place, and an eclipse is a rare phenomenon at any one place on this earth. The Indians were awestruck. Faith was restored and strengthened in thousands.

Developments following the eclipse alarmed Harrison, whose agents sent him reports of various tribes that had deposed their chiefs and gone over to Tecumseh and the Prophet. Tension between the United States and Great Britain, ever present since the end of the American Revolution in 1776, had reached a critical point again, and Harrison and most western settlers, preferring to doubt Tenskwatawa's strong medicine, were certain that the British in Canada were the real troublemakers. Even at the extraordinary coincidence that gave Tenskwatawa occasion to strengthen the faith of the people, the settlers thought in terms of their private enemy, the British as if it were some trick of theirs. And in their minds they linked the two: to drive out the Indians was to drive out the British. Gradually, Tecumseh recognized what the ultimate consequences of the settlers' increasing fear and hatred of the Indian vould be. He saw only one hope-all the tribes must be brought together to fight as a single people in defense of their common lands. At his command, Tenskwatawa moved his center westward to the west bank of the Tippecanoe River to avoid premature conflict. As soon as the new Prophet's Town was established in May, 1808. Tecumseh and his brother, with several companions and attendants set out on horseback to unite the tribes for defense.

At village after village in the Northwest Territory exciting the people with the presence of the Prophet and himself, Tecumseh appealed for their support with thrilling and patriotic oratory. At many powers chiefs who had signed Wayne's treaty and wanted no more war with the Americans opposed him, and he suffered many rebuffs. Elsewhere, whole tribes responded with enthusiasm to his speeches, or divided their loyalities between their old chiefs and eager young warriors who agreed with Tecumseh's appeals.

Tecumseh next turned south and west and in 1809, accompanied by a small band of followers, visited dozens of tribes, from the Seminoles in Florida to the Osages in Missouri. He received attention and sympathy, and made many friends among most of the people he visited. He managed to sow the seeds of future actions



against the Americans. Before the end of the year, he was back in the north and heading into New York State, where he tried in vain to enlist the Iroquois tribes in his alliance. No matter: from Lake Superior to the Gulf of Mexico, he laid the ground work for the common defense of the Indians' country by the greatest military alliance in native history.

But in his absence the situation worsened in Indiana. Governor Harrison, determined to get more Indian lands for the 20,000 Americans in southern Indiana clamoring for statehood, drew together some of the older and weaker chiefs. His letters show he had little conscience in his dealings with the Indians and he was not above deceit. He "mellowed" the chiefs with alcohol, and after he placed considerable pressure on them, they proved obliging. For \$7,000 in cash and \$1,750 in annuities they bought three million acres of land in Indiana, much of it the territory of tribes not even represented.

Tecumseh was enraged. He returned from uniting the Indians to find other Indians had sold off more land behind his back. A council meeting with Harrison followed. Tecumseh's words were brilliant, though the translation was clumsy:

"You endeavor to make distinctions (among our people). You endeavor to prevent the Indians from doing what we, their leaders, wish them to do unite and consider their land and property . . . . The United States have set the example of forming a union among all the fires (states)—why should they censure the Indians for following it?"

Then, declining Harrison's offer of a chair, he sat down proudly on the ground.

Harrison's replies deliberately evaded his point. He said Tecum seh had no right to contest the sale of lands in Indiana, because the Shawnee homeland had been in Georgia. But it was not until Harrison suddenly asserted that the United States had always been fair and just in its dealings with the Indians that Tecumseh sprang to his feet, "It is false, He lies!" Harrison unsheathed his sword and started forward. Several whites aimed their guns, Indians behind Tecumseh raised the tomahawks and Harrison adjourned the meeting.

Tecumseh apologized for his display of lack of restraint and they met again the next day. Tecumseh was in a good mood and



the two sat down together on a bench. Gradually, the Indian kept pushing against Harrison, forcing the American to move closer and closer to one end. Finally, as Harrison was about to be shoved off, he objected, and Tecumseh laughed. He pointed out that the Amercan settlers were doing just that to the Indian.

Harrison's attitude served notice that he intended to keep pressing for more Indian land, and Tecumseh knew that to stop him, he had to hurry his alliances and strengthen the native's will to resist. He crossed over into Canada to address a council of Potawatomis, Ottawas, Sac and Foxes and Winnebagos. His second southern journey was a heroic and memorable effort. "His words fell in avalanches from his lips. His eyes burned with supernatural lustre," one who heard him said, "and his whole form trembled with emotion. His voice resounded over the multitude—now sinking in low and musical whispers, now rising to the highest key, hurling out his words like a succession of thunderbolts."

But the southern trip had shown Tecumseh that his confederation was far from ready for the united movement he planned to lead. Tecumseh returned March, 1818, to the Tippecanoe to find that Prophet's Town had been burned to the ground by Harrison in a battle Tensk watawa had not prevented. Tecumseh banished the Prophet.

Meanwhile, the isolate, disunited uprisings Tecumseh feared had already begun. Hate bands, crying for revenge, fell on settlers in Indiana and Illinois. They raided independently of one another and without plan, but the panic they aroused united the Americans against all natives. During the spring, the tension on the frontier spread to Washington, where it helped to precipitate the War of 1812. On June 18, the United States, under the pressure of warhawk legislators, Henry Clay and others, began the war with Great Britain. Almost immediately both the British and the Americans sent agents among the tribes, now appealing for their help in the struggle. Several of the older chiefs, some of whom were now supported on American annuities, argued the American case before their tribesmen. But in a large council called by the Americans at Fort Wayne, Tecumseh defied them. "Here is a chance . . . " he cried scornfully, "yes, a chance such as never will occur again-for us Indians of North America to form ourselves into one great combination..."

His words fired up his listeners. Twice he dramatically broke in two the peace pipes which an American envoy handed him.







Then, gathering a large party of Shawnees, Delawares, Kickapoos, and Potawatomis, he marched off to Fort Walden and announced his allegiance to the British. Wyandots, Chippewas and Sloux came from Canada, Michigan, and Minnesota to join him. Black Hawk, who would one day himself lead a war against the whites, moved across the northern wilderness from Illinois and Wisconsin and arrived with a war party of Sac and Foxes and Winnebagos, Elsewhere, Indian runners and British agents carried word that Tecumseh had finally declared war on the Americans, and the response of many tribes showed that the Shawnees' travels had not been in vain. Though they fought without Tecumseh's guiding direction and not as the united Indian people he had envisioned, bands rose against the Americans on every front driving settlers, traders and armed forces into retreat. Before the war ended the Americans had stopped them, but the costly months of their hostility were scarred by massacres, the disruption of commerce, and the desolation of settlements from the outskirts of St. Louis to the Creek country of Alabama and Georgia.

Tecumseh was killed in that war. "He yelled like a tiger and urged his braves to the attack," a Kentuckian later said. Others caught glimpses of the Shawnee leader, running among the Indians with a bandage still tied around one arm, injured in an earlier skirmish. Now American bullets hit him again and again. Blood poured from his mouth and ran down his body, but the great warrior staggered desperately among the trees, still crying to his Indians to hold. The dream of an indian nation was slipping fast, and as twilight came it disappeared entirely. Suddenly the Americans realized that they no longer heard Tecumseh's voice or saw his reckless figure.

In the morning, Harrison's men looked in vain for Tecumseh's body. Somehow, during the night, it had vanished. Tecumseh's dream, unrecognized by his enemies, disappeared with his body. His warriors were thought to have carried it away for burial. No new native leader arose to unite the tribes, and in a few years, the advancing tide of that new civilization completed the demoralization and decay of the proud peoples who had once called the Northwest Territory their home. In time, the survivors, reduced to poverty and sickness, were forcibly dispossessed of what little land remained to them and were removed to reservations on the west side of the Mississippi River. Most of them as Tecumseh had foreseen, were moved again and again to leave way for new advances



of the whites. Today, across Oklahoma, the dispersed descendants of the Shawnee chief's warriors live among other and more numerous tribes, ignored and forgotten by most Americans. To them, however, belongs the pride of knowing that one of their people was the greatest of all the American Indian leaders, a majestic figure who wanted to give all the Indians a nation of their own.

After the war of 1812, Tenskwatawa received a pension from the British government and lived in Canada until 1826 when he rejoined his tribe in Ohio and the following year moved to the west side of the Mississippi in Missouri. About 1828 he went with his band to Wyandotte County, Kansas, where his portrait was painted in 1032 by the famous artist. George Cattin. The Prophet, Tenskwatawa, died in November of 1837. His grave is unmarked and unknown, a man of God who walked among his people.

### STUDY GUIDE

- 1. The tribes of the southeast U. S. refused to join Tecumseh in his fight to hait the encroachment of the white man. Do you think it might have made a difference if they had?
- 2. Would the history of the American Indian have been any different if Tecumseh had never tried?
- 3. Study the alliance that was formed by east coast Indians early in the colonial period. Wny did it fail?
- 4 Innat were the reasons for the terrible conflicts between thites and indians? How much did each of the following have to do with it:
  - (a) The white man's greed for the land
  - (b) Indian beliefs that the land was sacred and could not belong to anyone
  - (c) The clash of two very different kinds of cultures
  - (d) Language
  - (e) Race



#### PART THREE

# DISCUSSION OUTLINES

Some time during every Youth Council meeting, should be devoted to a general discussion period which will focus on some aspect of Indian life, culture, of history. The purpose of the discussion will be to help each individual Youth Council member develop a deeper understanding and awareness of the Indian experience in America and how it relates to himself and others. Sometimes, when the discussion relates to a contemporary problem, the group will want to take some kind of positive action to try to solve the problem. It is very important that the project is carefully planned out in advance, with each member of the Youth Council knowing exactly what he or she is responsible to do. Remember: when trying to analyze a problem it is always wise to seek information from many sources; such as, other students, your Youth Council Sponsor, OIO staff, etc.

On the following pages there are 15 discussion outlines that can be used by your Youth Council. During the coming year, more outlines will be developed with the help of the Youth Councils. Also, the historical material that precedes this section was planned for group discussion.

At some point during each meeting the group should decide the discussion topic for the next meeting and appoint a discussion leader for that meeting. It will be his responsibility to study the topic in advance and also make sure that all the members have an opportunity to make their views known during the meeting. The other members of the group will also want to think about the topic from time to time, between meetings, so that they will be prepared to make a strong contribution.



### **DISCUSSION 1: Education**

CANASSATEGO, an Iroquois, responded to an invitation from the Virginia Legislature to send six Indian youths to the College of William and Mary, 1744;

"We know you highly esteem the kind of learning taught in these Colleges, and the maintenance of our young men, while with you, would be very expensive to you. We are convinced, therefore, that you mean to do us goo by your proposal; and we thank you heartily. But you who are so wise must know that different nations have different conceptions of things; not, therefore, take it amiss, if our ideas of this kind of Education happens not to be the same with yours. We have had some experience of it. Several of our young people were formerly brought up in the colleges of the Northern Provinces; they were instructed in all your Sciences; but, when they came back to us, they were bad runners, ignorant of every means of living in the woods, unable to bear either cold or hunger, knew neither how to build a cabin, take a deer, or kill an enemy, spoke our language imperfectly, were therefore neither fit for Hunters, Warriors, nor Counsellors; they were totally good for nothing. We are however not the less obliged for your kind offer, though we decline accepting it; and to show our grateful sense of it, if the gentlemen of Virginia shall send us a dozen of their sons, we will take great care of their education, instruct them in all we know, and make Men of them.

- 1 Does this statement have any relevance to education today?
- 2. Today, who decides what kind of education is "best" for Indian young people?
- 3. Does your school make any attempt to include Indian values, culture, customs and history in its curriculum?
- 4. Could this kind of curriculum be helpful to non-Indian young people also?
- 5. What can we do, as a Youth Council, to start an Indian studies program in our school or improve the one that already exists?



6. Have a panel discussion in your Youth Council meeting or district meeting to discuss the effect and value of "education" on the panel members.



### DISCUSSION 2: Heritage

PONTIAC, in 1763, repeating what he said were the words of the Master of Life to a Delaware chief:

"I am the maker of heaven and earth, the trees, lakes, rivers and all else. I am the Maker of all mankind; and because I love you, you must do my will. The land on which you live I have made for you and not for others. Why do you suffer the white man to dwell among you? My children, you have forgotten the customs and traditions of your forefathers. Why do you not clothe yourself in skins, as they did, use bows and arrows and the stone-pointed lances, which they used? You have bought guns, knives, kettles and blankets from the white man until you can no longer do without them; and what is worse you have drunk the poison firewater, which turns you into fools. Fling all these things away; live as your wise forefathers did before you."

- 1. What meaning does this have in a time when Indian people own cars and television sets?
- 2. Just because Indian people now use the things of the 20th century, are we any less "Indian" for it?
- 3. Can you think of Indian customs and values that are still very strong among the members of your tribe?
- 4. What does it mean to retain your Indian heritage?
- 5. Can you think of Indian values that you share with non-Indians?



## DISCUSSION 3: The Right to be Different

OLD TASSEL, a Cherokee, to U.S. Commissioners in 1777:

"Much has been said of the want of what you term "Civilization" among the Indians. Many proposals have been made to us to adopt your laws, your religion, your manners, your customs. We do not see the propriety of such a reformation. We should be better pleased with beholding the good effects of these doctrines in your own practices than with hearing your talk about them, or of reading your newspapers on such subjects. You say, "Why do not the Indians till the ground and live as we do?" May we not ask with equal propricty, "Why do not the white people hunt and live as we do?"

- 1. Considering that the Indians had been on the North American continent for hundreds of years before the white settlers came, does this statement seem reasonable?
- Once the Cherokees had begun to "till the ground and live as we do". How did the white people treat them then?
- 3. Does it really make any difference to non-Indians how an Indian person acts or believes?
- 4. Should Indian People have the right to be "different" in American society today?
- 5. Are Indian young people expected to behave and believe exactly like non-Indian young people in your school? If so, should we try to do anything about it?



# DISCUSSION 4: White Paternalism

# SPECKLED SNAKE, a Creek Chief, in 1829:

"Brothers: We have heard the talk of our Great Father; it is very kind. He says he loves his red children . . . .

Brothers! I have listened to a great many talks from our Great Father. But they always began and ended in this . . . ." Get a little farther; you are too near me. I have spoken."

- 1. Does the "Great Father" still say that he loves his red children?
- 2. In what ways does the "Great Father" still treat Indian people like children?
- 3. Is it the responsibility of the government or of Indian people to change paternalistic attitudes toward Indians?
- 4. Can you think of ways that Indian young people are treated in a paternalistic way in your school?
- 5. Can you think of ways that white society still says to Indian people: "Get a little farther; you are too near me."?



DISCUSSION 5: War and Peace

SITTING BULL, the Sioux chief, surrendered to soldiers at Fort Buford in 1881. On learning he was to be taken to Standing Rock Reservation he said:

"I do not come in anger toward the white soldiers. I am very sad. My daughter went this road. Her I am seeking. I will fight no more. I do not love war. I never was the aggressor. I fought only to defend my women and children. Now all my people want to return to their native land. Therefore, I submit . . .

I do not wish to be shut up in a corral. It is bad for young men to be fed by an agent. It makes them lazy and drunken. All agency Indians I have seen were worthless. They are neither red warriors nor white farmers. They are neither wolf nor dog. But my followers are weary of cold and hunger. They wish to see their brothers and their old home, therefore I bow my head."

- 1. What does this say about the conditions under which treaties were made, and the kind of life that awaited the Indians once they make peace?
- 2. Was Sitting Bull really a man of war or a man of peace?
- 3. What was an agency Indian?
- 4. Are there agency Indians today?
- 5. Is it reality or myth that most Indian people were very war-like?



DISCUSSION 6: War and Peace

# NICAAGAT (Jack) of the White River Utes:

"I told the officer that his was a very bad business; that it was very bad for the commissioner to give such an order. I said it was very bad; 'that we ought not to fight, because we were brothers; and the officer said that that did not make any difference; that Americans would fight even though they were born of the same mother."

# SINTE-GALESHKA (Spotted Tail) of the Brule Sioux:

"This war did not spring up here in our land; this war was brought upon us by the children of the Great Father who came to take our land away from us without price, and who, in our land do a great many evil things. The Great Father and his children are to blame for this trouble . . . . It has been our wish to live here in this country peaceable, and do such things as may be for the welfare and good of our people, but the Great Father has filled it with soldiers who think only of our death. Some of our people who have gone from here in order that they may have a change, and others who have gone north to hunt, have been attacked by the soldiers from this direction, and when they have gotten north have been attacked by the soldiers from the other side, and now when they are willing to come back the soldiers stand between them to keep them from coming home. It seems to me there is a better way than this. When people come to trouble, it is better for both parties to come together without arms and talk it over and find some peaceful way to settle it."

- 1. Was there a warrior class that existed, or did the wars of that generation create warriors?
- 2. Today, do you think that Indian young men are more willing to enlist in the Army than non-Indians?
- 3. If the above is so, why?
- 4. If non-Indian society had followed Spotted Tail's advice,



- do you think we would have gotten involved in Vietman?
- 5. What do you know about the Hopi tradition of non-violence?
- 6. Could it be that the non-violent way of settling disputes is really the Indian way?
- 7. Do you think Nicaagat's observation about the American way is essentially correct?



# DISCUSSION 7: The Land

#### WHITE THUNDER:

"Our land here is the dearest thing on earth to us. Men take up land and get rich on it, and it is very important for us Indians to keep it."

## GERONIMO, Apache leader:

"For each tribe of men Usen created He also made a home. In the land for any particular tribe He placed whatever would be best for the welfare of that tribe.

When Usen created the Apaches He also gave them their homes in the West. He gave them such grain, fruits and game as they needed to eat . . . . He gave them a pleasant and all they needed for clothing and shelter was at hand.

Thus it was in the beginning: the Apaches and their homes each created for the other by Usen himself. When they are taken from these homes they sicken and die."

- 1. From these statements what role does land have for Indian people?
- 2. Can spirit and tradition occupy the place of land in an Indian's mind regarding his sense of continuity and existence?
- 3. Has the allotment system helped Indian people to retain land?
- 4. Discuss the Alaskan Claims issue.
- 5. Do you think the U.S. Government has any obligation to return lands that were fraudulently taken from Indian tribes, rather than pay money, for it?



#### DISCUSSION 8: The Question of Historical Truth

### ESKIMINZIN of the Aravaipa Apaches:

"If it had not been for the massacre, these would have been a great many more people here now; but after that massacre who could have stood it? When I made peace with Lieutenant Whitman my heart was very big and happy. The people of Tucson and San Xavier must be crazy. They acted as though they had neither heads nor hearts . . . they must have a thirst for our blood. . . these Tucson people write for the papers and tell their own story. The apaches have no one to tell their story

#### YELLOW WOLF of the Nez Perces.

"The whites told only one side. Told it to please themselves. Told much that is not true. Only his own best deeds, only the worst deeds of the Indians, has the white man told."

- 1. Discuss: History can be a bag of lies, depending on what group is writing it.
- 2. Has American Indian history ever really been told?
- 3. Is it likely that non-Indian historians will ever be able to give the Indian side to American history?
- 4. What incident did Eskiminzin refer to when he said. "The people of Tucson . . . must be crazy?
- 5. Can you think of any recent example here in Oklahoma where the truth was misrepresented to make Indians look bad?



# DISCUSSION 9: Spirit of Religion

# WOVOKA, the Paiute Prophet:

"All Indians must dance, everywhere, keep on dancing. Pretty soon in next spring Great Spirit come. He bring back all game of every kind. The game be thick everywhere. All dead Indians come back and live again. They all be strong just like young man, be young again. Old blind Indians see again and get young and have fine time. When Great Spirit comes this way, then all Indians go to mountains, and high up away from whites. Whites can't hurt Indians then. Then while Indians way up high, big flood comes like water and all white people die, get drowned. After that, water go way and then nobody but Indians everywhere and game all kinds thick. Then medicine man tell Indians to send word to all Indians to keep dancing and the good time will come. Indians who don't dance, who don't believe in this word, will grow little, just about a foot high, and stay that way. Some of them will be turned into wood and burned in fire."

- 1. Does Wovoka's vision of the Last Judgement followed by the advent of the City of God on earth signal the final destruction of spirit among the Indian?
- 2. How is Wovoka's vision similar to the Judeu-Christian belief in a Last Judgement?
- 3. What other great religions have similar beliefs?



### DISCUSSION 10: Spirit of Unity

JOHN ROSS, Chief of the Cherokees, to a great council called in June of 1843 at Tahlequah, and attended by over 10,000 Indian people representing 17 tribes:

"Brothers: By this removal, tribes that were once separated by distance have become neighbors, and some of them, hitherto not known to each other, have met and become acquainted. There are, however, numerous other tribes to whom we are still strangers.

"Brothers: It is for reviving here in the West and ancient talk of our forefathers, and of perpetuating for ever the old fire and pipe of peace brought from the east, and of extending them from nation to nation, and for adopting such international laws as may be ne cessary to redress the wrongs which may be done by individuals of our respective nations upon each other, that you have been invited to attend the present council.

"Brothers: Let us so then act that the peace and friendship which so happily existed between our fore-fathers, may be forever preserved; and that we may always live as brothers of the same family."

- 1. What was John Ross' motive in trying to promote tribal unity and cooperation?
- 2. Why were the tribes so reluctant to accept the appeal of John Fioss?
- 3. If his appeal had been accepted could it have possibly led to the fulfillment of Tecumseh's dream of a separate Indian state embracing many Indian nations?
- 4. Does hostility still exist between different tribes in Oklahoma?
  .... Between tribes on the eastern and western sides of the state?
- 5. What steps do you think should be taken to promote unity and cooperation between tribal groups?



**DISCUSSION 11: Religion** 

RED JACKET, Seneca.

Red Jacket was asked what he had done to distinguish himself as a warrior among the Seneca Indians, and he replied:

"A warrior? I am an orator! I was born an orator! You have got our country, but you are not satisfied. You want to force your religion upon us.

Brother! Continue to listen. You say that you are sent to instruct us how to worship the Great Spirit agreeably to his mind; and if we do not take hold of the religion which you white people teach, we shall be unhappy hereafter. You say that you are right and we are lost. How do you know this to be true? . . . You say there is but one way to worship and serve the Great Spirit. If there is but one religion, why do you white people differ so much about it? . . . We do not understand these things. We are told that your religion was given to your forefathers and has been handed down, father to son. We also have a religion which was given to our forefathers and has been handed down to us, their children. We worship that way. It teaches us to be thankful for all the favors we received, to love each other, and to be united. We never quarrel about religion.

Brother! We do not wish to destroy your religion, or to take it from you. We only want to enjoy our own."

- 1. Have Indian people generally been permitted to practice Indian religions?
- 2. Was it right for Christian missionaries to try to change Indian beliefs?
- 3. Were Indian people ever forced or unduly pressured to give up their religious practices?
- 4. What is the Native American Church?
- 5. Do many Indian people today still have Indian religious practices?



### DISCUSSION 12: Indian Self-Determination

### KICKING BIRD, Kiowa tribal leader:

"My heart is as a stone; there is no soft spot in it. I have taken the white man by the hand thinking him to be a friend, but he is not a friend; government has deceived us; Washington is rotten."

- 1. Do you think Kicking Birds comments hold true today?
- 2. Should Indian affairs be run from Washington?
- 3. How do BIA and other Federal beaurograts stifle Indian self-determination? What is Indian self-determination?
- 4. Would Indian affairs be handled more effectively if more indians worked for the Federal government?
- 5. What changes would you like to see made in the BIA?



# **DISCUSSION 13: Termination**

# Vine Deloria, Jr., Custer Died for Your Sins.

"People often feel guilty about their ancestors killing all those Indians years ago. But they shouldn't feel guilty about the distant past. Just the last two decades have seen a more devious but hardly less successful war waged against Indian communities. In the old days blankets infected with smallpox were given to the tribes in an effort to decimate them. In the past they were systematically hunted down and destroyed. Were an individual citizen to do this it would be classified as cold-blooded murder. When it was done by the U. S. Army it was an "Indian war." But during the past twenty years federal medical services have been denied various tribes, resulting in tremendous increase in disease.

The Congressional policy of termination, advanced in 1954 and pushed vigorously for nearly a decade, was a combination of the old systematic hunt and the deprivation of services. Yet this policy was not conceived as a policy of murder. Rather it was thought that it would provide that elusive "answer" to the Indian problem. And when it proved to be no answer at all, Congress continued its policy, having found a new weapon in the ancient battle for Indian land."

- 1. What does "termination" mean to most Indian people?
- 2. What has been the effect of termination on tribes such as the Klamath? and Menominee?
- 3. Have any Oklahoma tribes been terminated?
- 4. If the provision of medical and other services "forever" is part of the price paid by the government for the surrender of the North American continent, then does the government have any right ever to terminate any tribe?



### DISCUSSION 14: Ecology

### Statement by a Wintu Indian of California:

"The white people never cared for land or deer or bear. When we Indians kill meat, we eat it all up. When we dig roots we make little holes. When we build houses, we make little holes. When we burn grass for grasshoppers, we don't ruin things. We shake down acorns and pinenuts. We don't chop down the trees. We only use dead wood. But the white people plow up the ground. pull down the trees, kill everything. The tree says. "Don't. I am sore. Don't hurt me." But they chop it down and cut it up. The spirit of the land hates them. They blast out trees and stir it up to its depths. They saw up the trees. That hurts them. The Indians never hurt anything, but the white people destroy all. They blast rock and scatter them on the ground. The rock says, "Don't. You are hurting me." But the white people pay no attention. When the Indians use rocks, they take little round ones for their cooking . . . How can the spirit of the earth like the white man . . . Everywhere the white man has touched it, it is sore."

## Discuss the following statements:

- 1. Indian people were the pioneer ecologists of this country.
- 2. ". . . it was the white man's way to assert himself in any landscape, to change it, make it over a little (at least to leave some mark or memorial of his sojourn), it was the Indian's way to pass through a country without disturbing anything; to pass and leave no trace, like fish through the water, or birds through the air." Willa Cather.
- 3. White men fear Nature, Indians revere it.
- 4. Every living thing, including the individual, is locked together into an interrelated web of Spiritual existence.
- 5. Until non-Indian society adopts Indian attitudes toward the environment, all living things are in danger of extinction.



DISCUSSION 15: Indian Survival

TOM SEGUNDO, Chief of the Papagos of Arizona. Killed in a plane crash in April, 1971.

"Remember, we were here in this desert 8,000 years ago. The Spanish came and ruled, and then they disappeared. The Apaches, they came and went. Now the United States is here. That will change, too, one day. But 8,000 years from now, the Papagos will still be here.

SEATTLE, Chief of the Suquemish and Duweamish tribes; died, 1866:

"A few more moons. A few more winters-and not one of the descendants of the mighty hosts that once moved over this broad land or lived in happy homes, protected by the Great Spirit, will remain to mourn over the graves of a people-once more powerful and hopeful than yours. But why should I mourn at the untimely fate of my people? Tribe follows tribe, and nation follows nation, like the waves of the seas. It is the order of nature, and regret is useless. Your time of decay may be distant, but it will surely come, for even the White Man whose God walked and talked with him as friend with friend, cannot be exempt from the common destiny. We may be brothers after all . . . And when the last Red Man shall have perished, and the memory of my tribe shall have become a myth among the White Men, these shores will swarm with the invisible dead of my tribe, and when your children's children think themselves alone in the field, the store, the shop, upon the highway, or in the silence of the pathless woods, they will not be alone. In all the earth there is not place dedicalled to solitude. At night when the streets of your cities and villages are silent and you think them deserted, they will throng with the returning hosts that once filled them and still love this beautiful land. The White Man will never be alone.

Let him be just and deal kindly with my people, for the dead are not powerless. Dead, did I say? There is



# no death, only a change of worlds."

- 1. What do you think is the principle difference between the thought of Tom Segundo and Spattle?
- 2. Do you know Indian people today who share similar beliefs?
- 3. Is the question of Indian survival a real issue today?
- 4. When we speak of Indian survival, should we mean it in a physical sense only?
- 5. Do you think it is possible for Indian people to survive as a distinct people when they live among non-Indians, for example, in Oklahoma and urban areas?
- 6. Does intermarriage between Indians and non-Indians necessarily lead to a weakening of tribal ties?
- 7. What does the term ethnocide mean?



#### PART FOUR

# SOME DRAMATIC PRESENTATIONS

This section contains several brief playlets authored by Russell Bates, a young Indian dramatist, especially for this manual.

These plays can easily be performed by a Youth Council at a school assembly, PTA meeting, or OIO parents event. They obviously have a 'message', both for the viewers and the performers. This is the way it should be.

Dramatic portrayals have always been a vital part of Indian culture.

These brief playlets are simple examples of what individual Youth Councils can achieve in the way of presenting a powerful ideal that would not otherwise be understood by non-Indians and even some Indians.

Since they are intended to be examples, we hope that many of the Youth Councils or Youth Council members will try to develop other plays that will portray important Indian ideas and issues.

Perhaps during the coming year, OIO can sponsor a competition and make awards for the best plays produced by individual Youth Councils.



#### **PLAYLET ONE**

## "IF I GROW UP TO BE LIKE YOU, I DESERVE IT . . ."

## By Russell L. Bates

SETTING: Empty stage used to represent a city street at night. Perhaps sounds of passing cars and horn honks could be used to establish. Whatever, lighting is down to simulate night. Two Indian boys stand near Stage Left, talking, joking, laughing; we cannot hear what they are saying. They will be named Bud and Cal. Enter Stage Right, three more boys, all Indians, who are a little older. They will be named Matt. Vince and Kelly. They call to first two and walk toward them.

VINCE: Hey, guys! What's up?

Bud and Cal walk to meet them at Center Stage.

BUD: Cal and I were just hanging around. Where you guys been?

KELLY: (Laughs) We were up by Matt's house. Boy, did we give that old bag Mrs. Copper a hard time!

CAL: What happened?

MATT: Aw, we were walking down the alley by my house. Mrs. Cooper's German Shepherd started jumping at the fence and barking. So we all grabbed up some rocks and threw at it.

VINCE: And Mrs. Cooper came running out, yelling that she was going to call the cops! Kelly here acted like he was going to throw a rock at her. You should of seen her run!

KELLY: Yeah. And I didn't even have a thing in my hands! You guys would have busted up laughing!

BUD: That doesn't sound so funny.

MATT: Bud, when are you going to grow up? Mrs. Cooper gives



her Indian neighbors a hard time. She deserved it. Right, Vince?

VINCE: Yeah. Besides, she doesn't know who we are. Even if she did call the cops, she can't tell one kid from another.

CAL: Still, she's just an old lady. That's why she has a dog. She lives by herself and someone could try to rob her.

KELLY: That old dog's just like her. Just plain mean. Barks and growls like it could tear you up.

BUD: It never barks at me.

CAL: Or me.

MATT: Aw, you babies go home and play with your dolls.

VINCE: Hey, look who's coming!

From Stage Left comes a white boy about Bud and Cal's age. He walks jauntily across the stage, minding his own business.

KELI.Y: Mrs. Cooper's grandson! Now we got some fun. Shh.

BUC But . . .

MATT: Shut up.

The boy walks up to them, starts to walk past. But Vince and Kelly step in his way.

VINCE: Where you going, kid?

The boy steps back a pace, puzzled.

BOY: I'm going home. Why?

KELLY: (Joins the other two) Because your grandma called the cops on us and we didn't do nothing. We don't like that, you hear?



BOY: (Frightened) But I didn't have anything to do with that.

VINCE: Maybe we just ought to take it out of your hide.

BOY: (Backs away) No! Let me alone!

Bud and Cal have been watching in silence. But now they suddenly run to the boy's defense. They stand in front of him and face the older three boys.

BUD: You heard him. Leave him alone.

CAL: Yeah! Three against one sure made you brave!

KELLY: Get out of here, you guys! This doesn't concern you.

MATT: Besides, he's white. Or are you guys colorblind?

BUD: Maybe you can pick on an old lady and a dog. But this

kid is a friend. You heard Cal. Three against one and all

that. But now it's three to three.

The white boy steps closer to Bud and Cal, presenting the three bullies with a united front.

VINCE: I'm warning you for the last time! Get out of our way!

But Bud and Cal stand where they are. The three bullies step toward them but the younger boys don't move.

KELLY: Heck, let them go, guys. They're babies anyway. They'd probably cry!

Kelly steps away, followed by Matt and Vince.

VINCE: Yeah. Let's get out of here. If these guys can't be Indians like us, I don't want anything to do with them.

They move off, not looking back. Cal shouts at them just before they walk offstage, Stage Right.



CAL:

If I grow up to be like you, I'll deserve it!

The three don't come back.

BOY:

Thanks, guys.

The younger three walk toward Stage Left.

BUD:

Come on, we'll walk you home.

They go off.

CURTAIN



#### PLAYLET TWO

## "ALL CHINESE LOOK ALIKE TO ME . . . "

### By Russell L. Bates

SETTING: Empty stage that represents a gym. Three boys come onstage and run around, bouncing a basketball back and forth between them. Two are Indian, one is white. A fourth boy, an Indian, comes onstage to watch them playing. He appears to envy them. A fifth youth, possibly white, comes onstage and blows a whistle. He is the coach.

COACH: Okay, guys. That's it for today. Go take your showers.

The three players run offstage, leaving the basketball rolling on the floor. Then the coach notices the other boy. The boy's name is Earl. The coach walks over to him.

COACH: Hey, why weren't you out on the floor? I told everybody to get some running in.

EARL: I just didn't feel like it, Coach. Besides, I'm no good at stuff like that.

COACH: You're Earl . . . uh, Earl Heron. Right. (At Earl's nod) I don't understand this. Aren't all Indians good at sports? Some of the best teams I've coached were mostly Indian.

EARL: Yeah, I guess. That's what people keep telling me. But there are other things I'd rather be doing.

COACH: Like what?

EARL: It's not important.

COACH: Wait a minute. They must be important to you. Tell me about it.

EARL: Well . . . Coach, I'd rather spend my time reading or maybe working down in the art room.



COACH: You don't like physical education? That's kind of hard to believe.

EARL: Why, Coach? Because I'm Indian? What if I weren't?

COACH: Yes, I think that's it. Some of the white boys are too small or just plain uninterested. But it's been my experience that all Indians are good at sports. I can't see why you should be any different.

EARL: That's just the trouble, Coach. Here in school, the Indian kids are all the same to the teachers. If we're good, we're all good. If some are bad....

COACH: What are you trying to say, Earl?

EARL: You won't get mad at me?

COACH: (Frowns) Why should 1?

EARL: Well, I tried to explain this to my English teacher and she sent me to the Principal's office.

COACH: Were you getting smart with her?

EARL: No. She just didn't understand. Since then, I've been kind of careful what I say to anybody.

COACH: Okay, Earl. I'll try real hard not to misunderstand. Tell me.

EARL: Okay. (Pause) People have funny ideas about Indians. Some think we're mean and hard to get along with. A lot of people think we're bad news and avoid having anything to do with us. Somehow, it's as if we were all one person. A person who is best when he is watched carefully.

COACH: I think I know what you mean. At least, I've seen what you're talking about. Go on.



EARL: Well, all I really want to say is that Indians are people just like anybody else. And we're all different, just like anybody else. Some of us like to do certain things, some of us don't. Some of us are good, some are bad. We're just people.

COACH: (Thinks a while) Very well said, Earl. Now I think I understand. And I'm one of the ones you're talking about.

EARL: No, not really Coach. It's just that . . .

COACH: No, you're right. And I'm not mad at you for it. But I can see how it could be misunderstood.

EARL: Well, maybe you see then why I'm terrible at sports. All Indians are not great at sports and I'm one of those.

COACH: Okay, then. If you want to spend this time reading or drawing, I think you should. Come on, let's go see about getting your schedule changed.

They go off stage together.

CURTAIN



## **PLAYLET THREE**

## "ANOTHER MAN IS MY MIRROR . . . "

## By Russell L. Bates

SETTING: Empty stage which will be used as though it were a school building hallway. Perhaps a minor construction could be used to represent a short row of lockers. Otherwise, the stage need have no other props. As curtain opens, a bell is ringing and students (of any wieldy number) enter from wing exits and cross to opposite sides of the stage, representing the change of classes. Most of the students go offstage; a few still cross from one side to another. Stage left, one Indian boy greets, then stops to talk to two white boys. We cannot hear what they are saying. Stage right, four Indian young people come onstage, then stop and watch the stage left Indian boy. The four, two boys and two girls, don't like what they see. They are named Keith, Darryl, Amy, and Rochelle.

KEITH: There he is again, hanging around with white kids.

AMY: Yeah. He never has time to talk to us. He's always

got time for them, though.

DARRYL: Aw, forget himl If he's too good for us, why should

we waste time thinking about him.

ROCHELLE: I'll tell you why. He burns me up. He's Indian, we're

Indian. But he sure don't act like it.

DARRYL: Cocoanut, that's what he is. Brown on the outside,

white on the inside.

KEITH: (To Rochelle) He used to be a pretty good guy. But

I think you're still mad at him because he stood

you up on Saturday night. Right?

ROCHELLE: (Gets mad, hits at him with books, misses) That's

not the reason and you know it!

KEITH: (Laughs, ducks) Wait a minute! It wasn't me who

stood you up!



AMY: Cut it out, you two.

The first Indian boy finishes talking with the two white boys; they go offstage and the Indian boy crosses the stage toward the four others.

AMY: Shh! Here he comes.

They watch for a second as he comes up to them.

KEITH: Hi, Gene

The others look at Gene coldly, without saying anything. Rochelle looks away.

GENE: Hi, guys. Can't stop now. Got basketball practice.

As he passes, Rochelle grabs his arm.

ROCHELLE: Gene Littlehouse, you're a cocoanut!

She lets him go; the others laugh. Gene stands there a moment, puzzled. Then he shakes his head and goes offstage.

ROCHELLE: He's got some nerve! We were supposed to go to the

dance. But he called and said he had to babysit for

his baby sister. Likely excuse.

AMY: If it had been me, my brother would have taken

care of him.

KEITH: I don't know. Gene's folks did go to the housing

meeting. So d' my folks.

DARRYL: What're you doing, defending him?

KEITH: No. But I've been thinking. We could be wrong.

Those guys he was talking to are on the basketball

team, too.

AMY: I think you are defending him. He doesn't deserve



it. Other Indian kids aren't good enough for him. We don't do that, do we?

DARRYL: He's a snob.

ROCHELLE: Worse than that, he's the type who forget they're

Indian and then never remember who they are!

KEITH: I don't know. I think we're all guilty of that. May-

be when we see somebody else doing it, it's bad.

But when we do it, we don't notice.

DARRYL: That's dumb. We're all together, aren't we?

KEITH: Yeah. But this is the only time during the day we

see each other. The rest of the time, we're too busy. And I just realized I have as many white friends as

Gene.

AMY: (Slowly) And . . . so do I.

ROCHELLE: Me, too.

DARRYL: Okay, I guess I do, too.

Two white girls come onstage and rush up to Rochelle and Amy.

FIRST GIRL: Come on, Amy. We'll be late for Home Ec class.

SECOND

GIRL: Hurry, Rochelle. You promised to help me cut out

that dress material.

The four girls hurry across the stage and go off. Then two white boys come onstage and come up to Darryl and Keith.

FIRST BOY: Hey, Darryl. Can we count on you to help us wash

cars this Saturday? The club's raising funds to take

our State Fair trip.

DARRYL: (Slowly) Yeah. I guess so.



FIRST BOY: Great. We'll see you then.

The white boys hurry offstage.

DARRYL: That proves it, I guess. Gene's no different than

any of us.

KEITH: (Laughs) But you called him a snob and a cocoanut.

DARRYL: Okay, okay. He isn't. I guess we forgot we all have

to live together in this school.

KEITH: Right. So let's ask Gene if he wants to go to the

movie tonight.

The bell rings again.

DARRYL: Okay. Hey, we'd better get to class!

They rush offstage.

CURTAIN



## BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN INDIANS

- Abel, Annie H. "The History of Events Resulting in Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi". American Historical Association Annual Report, 1906. Washington, 1908, pp. 233-450.
- Alvord, Clarence W. Mississippi Valley in British Politics. 2 Vol. Cleveland. 1917.
- American Friends Service Committee. <u>An Uncommon Controversy</u>. National Congress of American Indians, 1966-67. pb.
- American Heritage, <u>Book of Indians</u>. The American Heritage Publishing Company, 1961. Resource book.
- American Indian Historical Society. The Indian Historian. 1451 Masonic Avenue, San Francisco, California 94117.
- . Textbooks and the American Indian. The Indian Historian Press, San Francisco, California, 1970. pb.
- . Indian Voices: First Convocation of American Indian Scholars. The Indian Historian Press, San Francisco, California, 1970. pb.
- Anderson, Harry. "History of the Cheyenne River Agency and its Military Post at Fort Bennett". South Dakota Historical Collections, XXVIII. 1956.
- Andrist, R. K. <u>The Long Death</u>. Collier-MacMillan Limited, Ontario, 1969. pb.
- Arnold, Elliott. Blood Brother. Batam Books, 1965. pb.
- Astrov, Margot, Comp. <u>American Indian Prose and Poetry: An Anthology</u>. G. P. Putnam Sons, Capricorn Books. pb.
- Athearn, Robert G. William Tecumseh Sherman and the Settlement of the West. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1956.



- Bad Heart Bull, Amos. A Picto-graphic History of the Oglala Sioux. Text by Helen H. Blish. Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1967, 530 pp.
- Berke, Ernest. The North American Indian. Introduction by Frederick J. Dockstader. Garden City, N. Y.; Doubleday, 1963.
- Book of Indians. Simon & Schuster, 1961.
- Boyce, George A. Alcohol and American Indian Students. Bureau of Indian Affairs. Lawrence, Kansas: Haskell Institute, 1965.
- Brandon, William, American Heritage Book of Indians. Dell Publishing Company, New York, 1968. pb.
- Brophy, William A., and Sophia D. Aberle. The Indians, America's Unfinished Business. University of Oklahoma Press, 1966.
- Brown, D. <u>Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee</u>. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., New York, 1970.
- Brown, J. E. The Sacred Pipe: Black Elk's Account of the Seven Rites of Oglala Sioux. University of Oklahoma Press, 1953.
- Byrne, P. E. The Red Man's Last Stand. London: 1927.
- Cahn, Edgar S. <u>Our Brother's Keeper: The Indian in White America.</u> New Community Press, New York, 1969. pb.
- California Indian Education Association, Inc. California Indian Education, 1967-1969. First and Third Annual Reports. 1349 Crawford Road, Modesto, California. pb.
- Callender, C. <u>Social Organization of the Central Algonkian Indians.</u>
  Milwaukee Public Museum Publication in Anthropology, No. 7, 1962.
- Carley, Kenneth. The Sioux Uprising of 1862. St. Paul, 1961.
- Carter, G. F. "Man in America: A Criticism of Scientific Thought." Scientific Monthly, 73:297-307. 1951.
- Caughey, J. W. McGillivray of the Creeks. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1938.



- Codere, H. "Kwakiutl Society: Rank Without Class" American
  Anthropologist, 59:473-486, 1957.
- Codere, H. "The Amiable Side of Kwakiutl Life". American Anthropologist, 66:334-351. 1956.
- Cohen, Felix. <u>Handbook of Federal Indian Law.</u> Washington, D.C., 1941. New York, 1970. Digest of 400 treaties and 5,000 federal statutes concerning Indians.
- Colden, C. The History of the Five Nations depending on the Province of New York. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1958. Great Seal Books.
- Collier, John. <u>Indians of the Americas</u>. The New American Library Inc. New York, 1947, pb.
- Cooke, David C. <u>Indians on the Warpath</u>. New York: Dodd-Mead, 1957.
- Corwin, H. D. The Kiowa Indians. Hugh D. Corwin, Lawton, Oklahoma. (a collector's book).
- Crawford, I. Kiowa. Fleming H. Revell, Co., 1915, (a collector's book).
- Cullum, Robert M. The Rural Cherokee Household, Study of 479 Households within Fourteen School Districts Situated in the Old Cherokee Nation. Muskogee Area Office, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Muskogee, Oklahoma. Mimeographed. 1953.
- Dale, Edward E. <u>The Indians of the Southwest</u>. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949.
- Davis, K. "Intermarriage in Caste Societies". <u>American Anthropologist</u>. 43:376-395. 1941.
- Deale, V. B. "The History of the Potawatomies Before 1722". Ethnohistory, 5:305-360. 1958.
- Debo, A. <u>The Road to Disappearance</u>. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941.
- Deloria, Vine, Jr. Custer Died for Your Sins. The MacMillan Company, Collier, MacMillan, London, 1969. pb.

- Deloria, Vine, Jr. We Talk, You Listen. The MacMillan Company, Collier, MacMillan, London, 1969. pb. Ontario, 1970.
- Diamond, S., W. C. Sturtevant, and W. M. Fenton. Memorandum Submitted to subcommittees on Indian Affairs of the Senate and House of Representatives. <u>American Anthropologist</u>, 1964.
- Dockstader, Frederick J. The American Indian on Graduate Studies:

  A Bibliography of Theses and Dissertations. New York: Museum of the American Indian. Heye Foundation Contribution. Vol. 15, 1957.
- Dockstader, Frederick J. Indian Art in America: The Arts and Crafts of the North American Indian. Greenwich, Connecticut: New York Graphic Society, 1961.
- Dozier, E. P. <u>The Hcpi-Tewa of Arizona</u>. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1954.
- Dozier, E. P. "The Pueblos of the South-Western United States".

  Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 1960.
- Dozier, E. P. "Rio Grande Pueblos". In <u>Perspectives in American Indian Culture Change</u>, ed. by E. Spicer, pp. 94-186. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- Dozier, E. P. <u>Hano: A Tewa Indian Community in Arizona</u>. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1966.
- Driver, H. E. <u>Indians of North America</u>. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- Driver, H. E. and W. C. Massey. <u>Comparative Studies of North</u>
  <u>American Indians</u>. Transactions of the American Philosophical
  Society, Vol. 47. 1957.
- Driver, H. E., W. C. Massey, et. al. <u>Indian Tribes of North America</u>. Indiana University Publications in Anthropology and Linguistics, Memoir 9, 1953.
- Drucker, P. <u>Indians of the Northwest Coast</u>. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955.



- Dunning, R. W. <u>Social and Economic Change Among the Northern</u>
  <u>Ojibwa</u>. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959.
- Dyk, W. Son of Old Man Hat: A Navajo Autobiography. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1938.
- Eggan, F. "Historical Changes in the Choctaw Kinship System".

  <u>American Anthropologist</u>, 36: 188-202. 1937.
- Eggan, F. Lewis H. Morgan and the Future of the American Indian. Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Philadephia, 1965.
- Eggan, F., ed. <u>Social Anthropology of North American Tribes</u>. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955.
- Eggan, F. Social Organization of the Western Pueblos. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950.
- Eisley, L. C. "The Paleo-Indians: Their Survival and Diffusion". In B. Meggers and C. Evans, eds., New Interpretations of Aboriginal American Culture History, pp. 1-11. Washington: Anthropological Society of Washington, 1955.
- Ellis, F. H. "Pueblo Social Organization and Southwestern Archaeology". American Anthropologist, 17:148-151, 1951a.
- Ellis, F. H. "Patterns of Aggression and War Cult in Southwestern Pueblos". Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, 7:177-201. 1951b.
- Ewers, J. C. <u>The Blackfeet</u>. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958.
- Ewers, J. C. <u>The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture</u>. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 159, 1955.
- Ewers, J. C. "Of the Crow Nation". <u>Bureau of American Ethnology</u>, Bulletin 151:1-74. 1953.
- Ewers, J. C. "The Last Bison Drives of the Blackfoot Indians".

  <u>Journal of the Washington Academy of Science</u>, 29:355-360.



- Ewers, J. C. <u>Plains Indian Painting</u>. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1939.
- Ezell, P. H. <u>The Hispanic Acculturation of the Gila River Pimas</u>. American Anthropological Association, Memoir 90, 1961.
- Fenton, W. N. "American Indian and White Relations to 1830: Needs and Opportunities for Study". (essay). L. H. Butterfield, Wilcomb E. Washburn, and William N. Fenton's bibliography. Chapel Hills University of North Carolina Press, 1957.
- Fenton, W. N. "Problems arising from the Historic Northeastern Position of the Iroquois". <u>Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections</u>, 100:159-252, 1940.
- Fenton, W. N., and J. Gulick, eds. <u>Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture</u>. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 180, 1961.
- Fey, N. E., and D. McNickle. <u>Indians and Other Americans</u>. New York: Harper & Row, 1959.
- Field, Thomas W. An Essay Towards an Indian Bibliography: Being a Catalogue of Books Relating to the History, Antiquities, Language, Customs, Religion, Wars, Literature, and Origin of the American Indian. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co., 1873, 430 pp.
- Forbes, Jack D. The Indian in America's Past. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1964. 181 pp.
- Forbes, Jack D. <u>Native Americans of California and Nevada</u>. 1969 ed. Naturegraph Publications. pb.
- Foreman, G. <u>The Five Civilized Tribes</u>. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934.
- Gamio, M. "Some Considerations of Indianist Policy". In R. Linton, ed., "The Science of Man in the World Crisis, pp. 399-415.

  New York: Columbia University Press, 1945.
- Gearing, F. <u>Priests and Warriors, Social Structures for Cherokee</u>
  <u>Politics in the 18th Century.</u> Menasha, Wisconsin: American Anthropological Association, Memoir 93, 1962.



- Gearing, F., R. M. Netting, and L. R. Peattie, eds. <u>Documentary</u>
  <u>History of the Fox Project</u>. Chicago: University of Chicago
  Press, 1960.
- Giddings, J. I. "Cultural Continuities of Eskimos". American Antiguity, 27:155-173, 1961.
- Godinan, I. "The Zuni of New Mexico". In M. Mead, ed., Cooperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples, pp. 313-353. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1937.
- Goodwin, G. <u>The Social Organization of the Western Apache</u>, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942.
- Goodwin, G. "The Social Divisions and Economic Life of the Western Apache". American Anthropologist, 37:55-64, 1935.
- Griffin, J. B. "Lake Superior Copper and the Indians". Anthropological Papers, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, No. 17, 1961.
- Griffin, J. B. "Some Prehistoric Connections between Siberia and America". <u>Science</u>, 131:801-812. 1960.
- Grinnell, G. B. The Fighting Chevennes. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956.
- Grove, Fred. Comanche Captives. Ballantine Books, 1961. pb.
- Gunnerson, J. H. "An Introduction to Plains Apache Archaeology—the Dismal River Aspect". <u>Bureau of American Ethnology</u> <u>Bulletin</u>, 173:131-260. 1960.
- Haas, M. R. "Creek Inter-town Relations". <u>American Anthropologist</u>, 42:479-489. 1940.
- Hackenberg, R. A. "Economic Alternatives in Arid Lands: A Case of the Pima and Papago Indians". <u>Ethnology</u>, 1:186-196. 1962.
- Hagan, W. T. <u>American Indians.</u> (Chicago History of American Civilization Series) Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.



- Hagan, W. T. <u>The Sac and Fox Indians</u>. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958.
- Haile, B. "Property Concepts of the Navaho Indians". Catholic University of America, Anthropological Series, Vol. 17, 1954.
- Haines, Francis. The Nez Perces. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1955.
- Hallowell, A. I. "The Backwash of the Frontier: The Impact of the Indian on American Culture". In W. D. Wyman and C. B. Kroeber, eds., <u>The Frontier in Perspective</u>. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957a.
- Hallowell, A. I. "The Impact of the American Indian on American Culture". American Anthropologist, 59:201-217. 1957b.
- Hamamsy, L. S. "The Role of Women in a Changing Navaho Society". American Anthropologist, 49:10:-111. 1957.
- Hassrick, Royal B. The Sioux: Life and Customs of a Warrior Society. (Civilization of American Indian Series). Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964.
- Hayter, Earl W. "The Ponca Removal". North Dakota Historical Review, VI:262-75. 1932.
- Heizer, R. F. and Whipple, M. A. The California Indians. University of California Press, 1967.
- Hickerson, H. The Southwestern Chippewa, An Ethnohistorical Study. Menasha, Wisconsin: American Anthropological Association, Memoir 92, 1962.
- Hilger, M. I. <u>Arapaho Child Life and Its Cultural Background</u>. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 148, 1952.
- Hilger, M. I. Chippewa Child Life and Its Cultural Background.
  Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 146, 1951.
- Hill, W. W. "The Navaho Indians and the Ghost Dance of 1890".

  American Anthropologist, 46:523-527, 1944.



- Hockett, C. F. "The Proto Central Algonguin Kinship System". In Explorations in Cultural Anthropology, ed. W. H. Goodenough, pp. 239-58. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964.
- Hoebel, E. A. The Cheyennes: Indians of the Great Plains. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1960.
- Hoebel, E. A. The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians. American Anthropological Association, Memoir 54, 1940.
- Hoehel, E. A., and E. Wallace. The Comanches: Lords of the Southern Plains. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952.
- Howard, J. H. "The Cultural Position of the Dakota: A Reassessment". In <u>Essays in the Science of Culture in Honor of Leslie A. White</u>, ed. G. E. Dote and R. L. Carneiko, pp. 249-69. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, Co., 1960.
- Howard, J. H. "The Plains-Ojibwa or Bungi". Museum News, University of South Dakota, V. 24-25. Vermillion, South Dakota, 1963-64.
- Hyde, G. E. <u>Pawnee Indians</u>. Denver: University of Denver Press, 1951.
- Hyde, G. E. <u>Red Cloud's Folk</u>. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1937.
- Indian Education: A National Tragedy A National Challenge.

  1969. Report by Special Subcommittee on Indian Education.
  Numbers 91-501. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. pb.
- Jablow, J. <u>The Cheyerine in Plains Indian Trade Relations</u>, 1795-1840. Monographs of the American Ethnological Society, No. 19, 1951.
- Jackson, Helen Hunt. A Century of Dishonor. New York: Harper & Row, 1965. pb.



- Jenness, D. <u>The Indians of Canada</u>. Bulletin of the Canadian National Museum, 65, 3rd ed. Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1955.
- Jennings, J. D. "The American Southwest: A Problem in Cultural Isolation". In R. Wauchope, ed., <u>Seminars in Archaeology</u>, <u>Society for American Archaeology</u>, Memoir, 11:59-127, 1956.
- Jennings, J. D. "Early Man in Utah". <u>Utah Historical Quarterly</u>, 28: 3-27, 1960.
- Jennings, J. D., and F. E. Spencer. <u>The Native Americans</u>, Harper & Row, New York, 1965.
- Jones, Louis Thomas, Aboriginal American Oratory: The Tradition of Eloquence Among the Indians of the United States. Los Angeles: Southwestern Museum, 1965.
- Joseph, A., R. Spicer, and J. Chesky. <u>The Desert People</u>. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949.
- Josephy, Alvin M., Jr. <u>Patriot Chiefs</u>. Viking Press-Compass Books, New York, 1961. pb.
- Josephy, Alvin M., Jr. The Indian Heritage of America. New York: Knopf, 1968. 416 pp.
- Kappler, C. J. Indian Affairs Laws and Treaties. Four Volumes, comp. (usually in State Library or Archives).
- Kaut, C. R. "Notes on Western Apache Religious and Social Organization". American Anthropologist, 61:99-102. 1959.
- Kaut, C. R. The Western Apache Clan System: Its Origins and Development. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press 1957.
- Keiser, A. The Indian in American Literature. New York: Oxford University Press, 1933.
- Kelly, W. H. <u>Indians of the Southwest</u>. Tucson: Reports of the Bureau of Ethnic Research, No. 1, 1953.
- Kirchhoff, P. "Meso-American: Its Geographic Limits, Ethnic Composition and Cultural Characteristics." In S. Tax, ed.,



- Heritage of Conquest, pp. 17-30. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952.
- Kluckhohn, C., and D. C. Leighton. <u>The Navaho</u>. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1946b.
- Kluckhohn, C. "The Philosophy of the Navaho Indians". In F. S. C. Northrop, ed., <u>Ideological Differences and World Order</u>, pp. 356-384. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949.
- Kluckhohn, C. "Personality Formation Among the Navaho Indians". Sociometry, 9:128-132. 1946.
- Kluckhohn, C. "Navaho Witchcraft". Papers of the Peabody Museum, No. 22, 1944.
- Kluckhohn, R., ed. Culture and Behavior: Collected Essays of Clyde Kluckhohn. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962.
- Kraenzel, Carl. <u>The Great Plains in Transition</u>. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955.
- Krause, A. The Tlingit Indians. Seattle: University of Washington Press. (Memoirs, American Ethnological Society, 26). 1956.
- Kroeber, Theodore. <u>Ishi in Two Worlds</u>. University of California Press, 1961. pb.
- Krug, J. A. The Navaho, Report of J. A. Krug, Secretary of the Interior, Washington: Department of the Interior, 1948.
- LaFarge, Oliver. As Long As the Grass Shall Grow. Alliance Book Corporation, 1940.
- LaFarge, Oliver. Laughing Boy. Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1929.
- LaFarge, Oliver. The American Indian. Golden Books, 1960.
- LaFarge, Oliver. The Enemy Gods. Popular Library, 1965. pb.
- LaFarge, Oliver. "The Indians Want a New Frontier". New York Times Magazine, June 11, 1961.



- LaFarge, Oliver, ed. <u>The Changing Indian</u>. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942.
- Laguna, F. de. The Story of a Tlingit Community. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 172, 1960.
- Lange, C. H. "A Reappraisal of the Evidence of Plains Influences Among the Rio Grande Pueblos". Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, 9:212-230. 1953.
- Lantis, M. <u>Eskimo Childhood and Interpersonal Relationships.</u>
  Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1960.
- League of North American Indians. Land Grab Attempt of Tuscarora Indian Reserve. 15 pp. 1961.
- LeDuc, T. "The Work of the Indian Claims Commission under the Act of 1946." Pacific Historical Review, February 1957.
- Levine, Stuart, and Nancy O. Lurie, eds. <u>The American Indian Today</u>. Everett & Edwards, Inc., 1968.
- Llewellyn, K. N., and E. A. Hoebel. <u>The Cheyenne Way</u>. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941.
- Lott, Milton, Dance Back the Buffalo. Pocket Books. 1968. pb.
- Lowie, R. H. Indians of the Plains. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1954.
- Lurie, N. "The Voice of the American Indian: Report on the American Indian Chicago Conference". Current Anthropology, 2:478-500, 1961.
- McCloud, Janet. "Fisher Indians in Fight for Treaty". The Indian Historian. American Indian Historical Society, San Francisco, V. 4, Nos. 1-2. Winter 1966-Spring 1967.
- McCombe, L., E. Z. Vogt, and C. Kluckhohn. Navaho Means People. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951.
- Macgowan, K., and J. A. Hester, Jr. <u>Early Man in the New World</u>. New York: Double day-Anchor, 1962.



- McGregor, G. Warriors Without Weapons. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946.
- McNickle, D'Arcy. "The Indian Tests the Mainstream". The Nation. Sept. 26, 1966.
- McNickle, D'Arcy. Indian Tribes of the United States. Oxford University Press, Institute of Race Relations. 1964. pb.
- McNickle, D'Arcy. They Came Here First. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1949.
- Meriam, L. "The Problem of Indian Administration". Institute for Government Research, Brookings Institution, 1928.
- Milfort, L. Memoirs, or A Quick Glance at my Various Travels and My Sojourn in the Creek Nation. Atlanta, Georgia: Continental Book Company, 1959.
- Miller, David H. <u>Custer's Fall, the Indian Side of the Story</u>, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, Inc. New York, Bantam Books. pb.
- Momaday, N. Scott. <u>The Way to Rainy Mountain</u>, University of New Mexico Press.
- Momaday, N. Scott. <u>House Made of Dawn</u>. The New American Library, Inc. New York, 1969. Signet Books. pb.
- Murray, Keith A. The Modocs and Their War. Norman: Univerof Oklahoma Press, 1959.
- Neihardt, John G. ed. <u>Black Elk Speaks</u>. <u>Being the Life Story of A Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux</u>. Nebraska University Press, Bison Books. pb.
- Newcomb, W. W. "The Culture and Acculturation of the Delaware Indians". Anthropological Papers of the Museum of Anthropology of the University of Michigan, 10:1-144. 1956.
- Norris, Chief (Klamath River Tribe). "I Remain to Some, A Savage, but a Proud Indian: Faith, Hope and Abandonment." The American Indian, June 1964.



- Oliver, S. C. <u>Ecology and Cultural Continuity as Contributing Factors in the Social Organization of the Plains Indians</u>. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962.
- Opler, M. E. "Childhood and Youth in Jicarilla Apache Society".

  Publications of the Frederick Webb Hodge Anniversary Publication Fund, Southwest Museum, 5:1-170, 1946.
- Opler, M. E. Myths and Tales of the Chiricahua Apache Indians.

  American Folk-Lore Society, Memoir 37, 1942.
- Ortiz, A. "Dual Organization as an Operational Concept in the Pueblo Southwest". Ethnology, 4:389-96. 1965.
- Oswalt, W. H. This Land Was Theirs. John Wiley and Sons, Inc. New York, 1967.
- Pearce, Roy Harvey. The Savages of America. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1953. (Reissued as "Savagism and Civilization". 1967. pb.
- Peithmann, I. M. <u>Broken Peace Pipes.</u> C. C. Thomas Publishing Company, Springfield, Illinois, 1964.
- Pine, Tillie S. The Indians Knew. Pictures by Ezra Jack Keats. Whittlesey House, 1957.
- Pratt, R. H. Battlefield and Classroom. Yale University Press, 1964.
- Priest, Loring B. Uncle Sam's Stepchildren, New Brunswick, 1942.
- Prucha, Francis Paul. American Indian Policy in the Formative Years: The Indian Trade and Intercourse Acts, 1790-1834.

  Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962.
- Quimby, G., Jr. Indian Life in the Upper Great Lakes, 11,000 BC to A.D. 1800. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.
- Reed, E. K. "Ceremony in the Valley: A Navaho Girl Blossoms Into Womanhood". Arizona Highways, 32:26-29. 1956a.



- Reid, Capt. Mayne. Osceola or the Red Fawn of the Flower Land. G. W. Dillingham, 1858.
- Ritzenthaler, R. E., and F. A. Peterson. "The Mexican Kickapoo Indians". <u>Publications in Anthropology of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee</u>, 2:1-91. 1956.
- Roe, F. G. The Indian and the Horse. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955.
- Roe, F. G. <u>The North American Buffalo</u>. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1951.
- Sandoz, Mari. Cheyenne Autumn. Hastings House Publication, 1953.
- Sandoz, Mari. <u>Crazy Horse</u>. University of Nebraska Press, Bison Books. 1961. pb.
- Sandoz, Mari. The Battle of the Little Big Horn. J. B. Lippincott Company, 1966.
- Saum, Lewis O. The Fur Trader and the Indian. University of Washington Pres.
- Scheffler, H. "Social Change on the Northeastern Prairie (The Turtle Mountain Ojibwa)". Manuscripts in possession of author. 1958.
- Schmitt, Karl and Iva. Wichita Kinship, Past and Present. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952.
- Schucky, E. <u>The Right to be Indian</u>. The Indian Historian Press, San Francisco, California, 1970. pb.
- Silverberg, J. "The Kickapoo Indians". Wisconsin Archaeologist, 38:61-181. 1957.
- Simpson, G. E., and J. M. Yinger, "American Indians and American Life". <u>Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science</u>. V. 31, May 1957.



- Slotkin, J. S. The Peyote Religion. Glencoe, Illinois, 1956.
- Smith, W., and J. M. Roberts. <u>Zuni Law: A Field of Values.</u> Papers of the Peabody Museum, Vol. 43, 1954.
- Sonnichsen, C. L. <u>The Mescalero Apaches</u>. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958.
- Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U. S. Senate, 90th Congress, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. (5 volumes on Indian Education). pb.
- Spencer, Robert F., and Jessie D. Jennings. "The Native Americans". Chapter XII, <u>American Indian Heritage: Retrospect and Prospect</u>. New York: Harper & Row, 1965.
- Spicer, E. H. Cycles of Conquest. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962.
- Spicer, E. H. <u>Perspectives in American Indian Culture Change</u>. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- Spicer, E. H. "Spanish-Indian Acculturation in the Southwest". Ammerican Anthropologist, 56:663-678. 1954.
- Spindler, G. D. Sociological and Psychological Processes in Menomini Acculturation. University of California Publications in Culture and Society, 5. 1955.
- Stands-in-Timber, John. <u>Cheyenne Memories</u>. Yale University Press, Yale Western, 1967.
- Stewart, Edgar I. <u>Custer's Luck</u>. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955.
- Sturtevant, W. C. "Accomplishments and Opportunities in Florida Indian Ethnology". Florida State University, Department of Anthropology, Notes in Anthropology, 2:15-55, 1958.
- Swanton, J. R. The Indian Tribes of North America. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulietin 145, 1952.



- Task Force on Indian Affairs. "Report to the Secretary of the Interior". Mimeographed. 1961.
- Tax, S., ed. <u>Heritage of Conquest</u>. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952.
- The National Geographic Society. National Geographic on the Indians of the Americas. 1960.
- Thomas, Robert. "Powerless Politics". New University Thought, V. 4, No. 4, Winter 1966-67.
- Thomas, Robert. "Colonialism: Classic and Internal". New University Thought, Vol. 4, No. 4, Winter 1966-67.
- Thompson, L. <u>Culture in Crisis: A Study of the Hopi Indians.</u>
  New York: Harper & Row, 1950.
- Underhill, R. M. <u>The Navahos</u>. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956.
- Underhill, R. M. Red Man's America. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953.
- Utley, Robert M. The Last Days of the Sioux Nation. Yale University Press, Yale Western. pb.
- Van Every, Dale. <u>Disinherited</u>: <u>The Lost Birthright of the American Indian</u>. New York: William Morros & Company. 1966. 279 pp.
- Voegelin, C. F. "North American Indian Languages Still Spoken and Their Genetic Relationships." In L. Spier, ed., <u>Language</u>, <u>Culture</u>, and <u>Personality</u>: <u>Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir</u>. Menasha, Sapir Memorial Fund, pp. 15-40. 1941.
- Voegelin, E. W. "The Northern Paiute of Central Oregon". Ethnohistory, 2:95-132, 241-272; 3:1-10. 1955-56.
- Vogel, Virgil J. <u>The Indian in American History</u>. Integrated Education Associates. Chicago, Illinois. pb.



3

- Vogt, E. Z. Navaho Veterans. Peabody Museum Papers, Vol. 41, 1951.
- Wahrhaftig, Albert. "An Anti-Poverty Explorations Project". <u>Journal of American Indian Education</u>. MS 1965c.
- Wahrhaftig, Albert. "Community and the Caretakers". New University Thought, V. 4, No. 4, Winter 1966-67.
- Wahrhaftig, Albert. "Indian Communities of Eastern Oklahoma and the War on Poverty". Carnegie Project, mimeographed, 1965a.
- Wahrhaftig, Albert. "The Tribal Cherokee Population of Eastern Oklahoma". MS. 1965c.
- Walker, E. F. World Crops Derived from the Indians. Southwest Museum Leaflet, No. 17, 1946.
- Wallace, E., and E. A. Hoebel. <u>The Comanches</u>. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952.
- Washburn, Wilcomb E. ed. The Indian and the White Man. Anchor Books, Doubleday & Company, In c., 1964. pb.
- Wastee, Wambles, "Will the Relocation Officer Relocate Himself?".

  The American Indian, San Francisco, May 1964.
- Wauchope, R. <u>Lost Tribes and Sunken Continents</u>. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.
- Wax, Murray and Rosalie. "American Indian Education for What?"

  <u>Midcontinent American Studies Journal</u>. Vol. VI, No. 2, Fall,
  1965.
- Wax, Murray and Rosalie. "Cultural Deprivation from Educational Ideology". JOAIE, Vol. III, January 1964.
- Wax, Murray and Rosalie. "Dropout of American Indians at the Secondary Level". Mimeographed. 63pp. Atlanta, Georgia. Emory University, 1964.



- Wedel, W. <u>Prehistoric Man on the Great Plains.</u> Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961.
- Wedel, W. "The High Plains and Their Utilization by the Indian".

  American Antiquity 29; No. 1:1-16. 1963.
- Weltfish, G. The Lost Universe. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1965.
- White, L. A., ed. <u>Lewis Henry Morgan, The Indian Journals, 1859-62</u>. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1959.
- Wilkinson, Cragun and Barker, attorneys. <u>Indian Hunting and Fishing Rights</u>. A legal survey prepared by NCAI. Washington, D. C. May 1967.
- Willis, W. S., Jr. "Patrilineal Institutions in Southeastern North America". Ethnology 10, No. 3:250-69. 1963.
- Wilson, E. Apologies to the Iroquois. New York: Farrar, Strauss and Cudahy, 1959. (Vintage Books, 1966, pb.)
- Wissler, C. "Contributions of the American Indian". In F. J. Brown and J. S. Roucek, eds., One America, Our Racial and National Minorities. New York: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1937.
- Wissler, C. Indians of the United States. Doubleday, New York, 1966.
- Witt, Shirley Hill. "Right Flank and Left Flank: The City Indian and the Reservation Indian". <u>American Aborigine</u>, Vol. II, No. 1. Gallup, New Mexico, 1961.

